

America

VOL. LXXVI, NO. 4
OCTOBER 26, 1946

A CATHOLIC REVIEW OF THE WEEK



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WORLD JUDGMENT ON PERSECUTORS

Our conscience is involved

JOHN LAFARGE

FRANCE'S NEW CONSTITUTION

The Fourth Republic is born

JEROME G. KERWIN

TOWN MEETING OF THE WORLD

The General Assembly convenes

ROBERT A. GRAHAM

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An Editorial

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William A. Donaghy

LONDON LETTER
Barbara Wall

DUBLIN LETTER
Kathleen O'Brennan

—from the business office

Dear Reader:

Coming up in the near future (November 3-9) is Catholic Book Week, and if you happen to be interested in some youngster's reading, you might like to write to this office for a free copy of the little pamphlet we are publishing this week. It's called *Books for Young Readers*, and it lists 79 of the best juveniles published during the past year. It is not a list of Catholic stories, nor of books by Catholic authors, but a small catalogue of novels, biographies, travel and science books put out by all the publishers and highly recommended for young Catholic readers. Moreover it offers you a pleasant summary of each title in its own name.

If you are an uncle, a god-mother, a teacher, a grandma, or a parent, you will be delighted with our little booklet because it will tell you just how to solve the reading problem for youngsters between 6 and 16. We expect a number of school libraries to ask for small supplies of the pamphlet—to distribute as an approved reading list.

One thing we can guarantee: every book named here will compel any youngster's interest and perhaps persuade him that reading can supply more entertainment than the Joe Palooka comics, Terry's radio adventures, or even Roy Rogers in the films.

That's because the list was compiled by the selections committee of our Catholic Children's Book Club, and if there is one thing that these people look to first, as the most important factor in choosing a book for a child, it's that the book must be deeply interesting. So our free

pamphlet is not merely a list of healthy, ideal-building books; it's a list of absorbing books. You'll welcome it.

Mr. John Eppstein, the distinguished Catholic author and publisher, is arriving at LaGuardia Field from London this week, and will immediately begin a lecture tour of this country and Canada. We hope you'll get an opportunity to hear him, particularly since his extremely important series of talks is being sponsored by the editors of *America*.

Mr. Eppstein, convert son of an Anglican clergyman, is best known here as the author of *The Catholic Tradition of the Law of Nations*—recognized as the standard work in this subject. He is also founder of the British Society for International Understanding (an overseas group closely resembling our own Foreign Policy Association), editor of its bi-weekly *Survey*, and compiler of a series of handbooks on the European nations and their problems.

Cardinal Griffin, writing the other day to our Editor, Father LaFarge, struck off an illuminating sentence. "Mr. Eppstein," he wrote, "is the leading exponent of the rich traditions of the Catholic Church in the field of international relations."

That sentence will explain why *America* is bringing Mr. Eppstein to the United States, and it will suggest the moral factors he will emphasize in his talks on understanding and cooperation among the nations.

Yours truly,

The Business Office



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Notice to Subscribers

With the November 2, 1946, issue, the annual subscription rate for *AMERICA* will be \$6 (plus \$1 in Canada, \$1.50 in other foreign countries, for postage). The weekly price (15c.) remains unchanged.

AMERICA delayed as long as possible before making this price revision, but it now becomes imperative, as it has for practically all other publications, because of greatly increased production costs.

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End of controls The Administration's attempt to fight an orderly rearguard action on the anti-inflation front has become a rout. That in a nutshell is the meaning of President Truman's address to a meat-hungry nation on the night of October 15. His reluctant decision to dump meat controls overboard was compelled by an irresistible combination of economic and political factors. Regardless of the rightness or wrongness of the situation, the public had become so impatient with the meat famine that the party in power was bound to suffer in the approaching election. As a politician, which the President of the United States must always be, Mr. Truman had to take instant action of some sort. As a statesman, forced to deal with human nature as well as with economic laws, there was only one course he could follow. He had to decontrol meat. All the other possibilities for dealing with the crisis—a holiday on price controls, price increases to cattlemen, seizure of the packing industry and cattle on the ranches, importation of dressed meat from abroad—were either insufficient or impractical. Nothing could end the sit-down strike of the cattle-growers except absolute surrender. And so the President took the risky and drastic step of complete decontrol, fully conscious of the far-reaching effects on the whole stabilization program. Although he talked bravely and hopefully of surmounting the new threat to a stable economy, he knew very well that the control of inflation had passed beyond the effective reach of the Government. Hence his plea to the meat industry and to all industry, to labor and the general public to exercise restraint and commonsense. There was nothing else left.

In retrospect Already the extremely delicate business of shifting from a tightly-controlled war economy to a "free market" has become the football of rough-and-tumble politics. Beneath all the vote-catching propaganda, the facts are clear and simple. There were two approaches to reconversion: one by way of gradual and orderly decontrol; the other by way of an immediate return to a free market, with only a few items, such as rents, excepted. The Administration espoused the first plan; the coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats, which dominated the 79th Congress, favored the second. The arguments for these positions are familiar to the readers of this Review, as well as our stand in support of strict, orderly decontrol. Orderly decontrol was repudiated by the Congress, first when it refused, beginning in September of 1945, to deal with price controls in plenty of time to avoid speculative hoarding and other evils bred by uncertainty; and then again last June when, on the eve of the expiration of the price-control act, it passed a totally inadequate substitute. The President's veto of this bill, the orgy which followed during July and August, and the tardy passage of the weak bill which Mr. Truman

reluctantly signed, will all be remembered. The point is that the struggle between the two viewpoints resulted in a compromise which was a victory for the proponents of the "free market." That victory has now become practically unconditional. Supply and demand will be shortly balanced, but at an inflated price level which will work bitter hardship on the majority of American families. We hope with all our hearts that we have been wrong and the proponents of wholesale decontrol right; that the abundant production which they promised if only controls were removed will soon put an end to unreasonable price increases. But if the decontrollers turn out to be wrong, may God help us all—but especially the poor and the unorganized.

Tito objects The Yugoslav note handed to the chairman to be read at the last session of the Paris Peace Conference is the latest and clearest revelation of what many have felt for a long time, even if they did not voice their suspicions, that there is not one "world" but two. It is not so much that Tito's delegation rejected certain recommendations of the Peace Conference as unfair to Yugoslavia; granted human fallibility, it is not to be expected that every decision, even if unanimous, should work perfect justice. The sinister aspect of Tito's note is its rejection of the very method of majority decision as essentially unjust:

... another method, the one of taking decisions by means of voting, was accepted—a method that, when the vital problems of a nation and the fate of peace among nations are in question is incorrect, *even formally*, because it leads to the imposition of the will of one group of states on other sovereign and equal countries, and at the same time is *unjust in its essence* because it permits the solving of the problems, not according to objective criteria, but according to the point of view of the special interest of the groups of states representing the majority of this conference. (Emphasis added.)

This is essentially a throwback to the anarchy from which the nations of the world—however hesitatingly and unsurely—have been trying to escape. It is a denial, in effect, of the responsibility of a nation to the world community; it destroys the very idea of world community. It demands that whatever settlement a nation may, by bribery, chicanery, force or threats of force, extort from a neighbor must go unchallenged by the rest of the world.

And behind Tito? No one who has followed, even cursorily, the world debates of the past year can fail to realize that the hand may be the hand of Tito, but the voice is the voice of Moscow. Stalin has shunned, as far as he decently could—and even farther—the necessity of submitting his plans and policies to world opinion. Later in the note, Tito flatly refuses to sign the Italian treaty

"if the main provisions affecting the vital interests of Yugoslavia are not changed." Russia is one of the Big Four to whom the treaties now must go. Will Stalin accept this defiance of the Peace Conference to which his Government was a party? On the other hand, would Tito issue such a defiance without the connivance of the Kremlin? It will be remembered that, if the Trieste settlement, as agreed to by the Peace Conference, is accepted, Tito will have to remove his troops from the southern part of the affected area. This he now seems to refuse to do, except on his own terms. Perhaps he is inviting a show of force. Perhaps this is another move in the Kremlin's war of nerves. It is imperative at this juncture that the western world should show that it is in no mood to be bullied or blackmailed.

Winning Austria Two recent developments, one in Austria, the other in Italy, may prove decisive in saving Austria from complete Russian domination and in cementing Austrian and Italian cooperation, so happily augured in their agreement on the South Tyrol. The report reached Vienna on Oct. 13 that the United States is considering a \$35-million aid program and a loan of \$125 million. In the face of what Austrians were beginning to consider American crumbling before Russian pressure on Austria, the announcement was a distinct boost to Austrian morale. It was followed almost immediately by a sterner tone in the American-controlled press. On Oct. 14, the U. S. Army German-language paper, the *Wiener Kurier*, with the largest circulation in the country, charged that

Russian releases are part of a deliberate and well-planned program of defensive propaganda designed to mislead the Austrian public by throwing up a smoke-screen around Russian responsibility for the isolation of Eastern Austria from the rest of the country and attempting to place the blame on the United States for the disruption of Austrian economic and political unity.

The paper then goes on to detail Russian confiscation of land, livestock, food, gasoline; and charges that the conclusion is justified that it is the Soviets alone who are "taking measures designed to separate Austria into two parts." This is the plainest talk the Austrians have heard from us and, coupled with Foreign Minister Karl Gruber's coming visit to this country at the end of the month, with the complaints registered in the Austrian Parliament on Oct. 10 of continual violence by Soviet soldiers in the Russian zone, with the recent Red demands on Jewish property that had been seized by the

Nazis, will go far toward stiffening the Austrian determination to keep their country from becoming a satellite of Moscow. We hope that Mr. Gruber's visit will occasion the ratification of the reported loan and relief fund.

Helping Italy The second development came in the shape of Mr. Byrnes' letter of Oct. 12 to the Italian Premier, Alcide de Gasperi, in which he announced the American decision to transfer immediately to the Italian Government \$50 million, to reimburse Italy for the lire furnished to the U. S. Army for the purchase of supplies. The amount, as funds go these days, is not staggering; what is most significant is that it is in excess of the actual expense incurred and, still more, that it is given under the declaration that the Italian Government "as a co-belligerent is entitled to such reimbursement." This is not merely a friendly gesture; it is the first concrete manifestation of justice since Italy was acknowledged, by all the Big Four, as being a co-belligerent. At the Paris conference, Russia and the Slav bloc welched on that acknowledgment and insisted on treating Italy as still an enemy country. Despite our efforts to reduce the reparations imposed on Italy, we yielded too much to that hostile mentality; this latest step has been an *amende*, belated perhaps, but none the less honorable. Austria and Italy, thus shown American interest and friendship, will be encouraged to work together for their common good, and for the resultant common good of central Europe. The two wise steps deserve a cheer.

Sketch or blueprint? Long a trenchant critic of communism—and of men and manners more sacred, besides—Harold Laski, the English Laborite, offers us in the pages of the *New Republic* for October 14 a late sketch of Russia's Premier Stalin. Taking his cue possibly from the school-teacher who asked her photographer for "mercy rather than justice," Mr. Laski is lavish with restraint and over-generous with the *chiaroscuro*. The iron man of the Kremlin is powerful and influential, yet not a dictator. (The Politburo, of course, takes care of the dictation.) He really wants to avoid war, but has only a schoolboy's knowledge of "the external scene," where presumably his enemies, if any, would be gathering for the attack. He knows English trade-union history well, thinks of America especially in terms of her technological resources and "experimentalism of temper," is more interested in "things" than in "the play of mind," and has a deep respect for "power as such." The ease and elasticity of his conversation may be built about a framework of "unbending principles," but in the visitor's opinion this does not rule out realism and sensitivity to "currents of opinion" of which he is allowed by the Russian Foreign Office to be aware. We were pretty well posted, before Mr. Laski's visit and report, on most of these largely negative and unrevealing traits of Stalin's "character." The man, with his "unbending principles," still eludes us in the mechanism of the "system" he serves, leaving intact our suspicion that manhood in the moral sense doesn't matter much to Communists. The world has proved abundantly its willingness and ability to be

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friendly, sympathetic and "peace-loving" with a Russia we could recognize as "our own kind." It is next to impossible, apart from the danger, to work up sympathy for a machine.

Education and one world Mr. Stettinius made his first convocation address at the University of Virginia the occasion for orienting the idea of a university toward the ideas of our times that call for the wholehearted support of an educated people. The idea of a university, he said, is the pursuit of truth unobstructed by the barriers of nation, race or creed. Such an idea, carried to its reasonable conclusion, will qualify youth for wise leadership. But the ideal of truth must also be propagated to the world.

The university must educate youth not only to live its own life usefully but with a sense of responsibility to the community. Today that community is the world, and so the current of world thought should flow continually through the university . . . It is equally true, however, that in the world of today the university can attain its high purpose only by making its knowledge, its skills and its achievements . . . available to its own community, to its State, to the nation and to the world.

If the influence of university education cannot of itself make one world, it is nevertheless true that the youth who are today crowding our university campuses are readier than were the youth after World War I to put their education at the service of peace. The challenge to the universities today, therefore, is to bring youth to the realization that one world at peace can only be compassed by the commingled sacrifices and aspirations which brought them victory in war.

Is the school replacing the home? Dr. Willis Nutting, professor at Notre Dame University and himself father of a family, addressed the hundreds of teaching sisters in attendance at the National Catholic Rural Life Conference convention in Green Bay, Wisconsin. Professor Nutting startled some of the sisters and awakened a sympathetic chord in the minds of others by stating flatly that the school today tends to tear down family life. By progressively taking over the jobs of parents, without letting them in on the planning or even giving them a chance to criticize, the school attempts to replace the home and only partly succeeds in doing it. Catholic schools are no exception. Attitudes of cooperativeness, of unselfish working for others, of looking toward the life to come while doing one's duty in the present, are unconsciously modified or even destroyed by the accepted viewpoints of companions, by a class- or race-conscious institutional environment, by the outlook of teachers who glorify athleticism, competition and the "success ideal." A parent, Dr. Nutting pointed out, is rather helpless when his efforts to encourage family living, family play and family work are nullified by even religious teachers who sacrifice the family ideal—which necessarily implies a certain amount of individuality and spontaneity—on the altar of regimentation, standardized curricula and school-centered activities. Teachers and administrators, specially

trained for their profession and often too conscious of superiority over parents in subject fields, stress by their words the ideal of Christian family living but reject it by their deeds. Most striking example, because it touches a point on which the family should be strong, is the splitting up of the family in the church and at the altar rail. This division, often originating in the school, is symbolic of what contemporary education does to the home. Speaking as a parent and educator, Professor Nutting voiced the doubts of many observers today. What the school calls improvement, all too often remedies only superficial defects in family living. Underneath it leaves both parents and youth unprepared for the very complicated business of successfully running a family in the midst of a world which stresses values disruptive of family life.

End of draft call In a sudden action the War Department has cancelled its draft calls for the rest of the year, beginning after October 15. Twenty thousand had already been taken by Selective Service out of the total October call of 35,000. The explanation for the action was described euphemistically by Maj. Gen. W. S. Paul, personnel head, as "favorable results" from the current campaign to recruit a million volunteers for the Regular Army. In the past twelve months, it was reported, 992,648 had volunteered for service. This figure has amazed military experts, who report that never before in this country or elsewhere has a volunteer recruiting campaign been so successful. Perhaps the Army has some justification for refusing to believe the evidence of its own eyes and the refutation of its favorite thesis that only conscription can provide for its needs. The unexpected suspension of draft calls has been interpreted by some Republicans as a political move timed for the coming elections. The truer explanation probably is that the War Department became afraid that it had violated the draft law by continuing to claim men from Selective Service at a time when adequate replacements were coming in through volunteer enlistment. The law requires the Army to consider the rate of volunteer enlistments for the previous three months before issuing any draft call. General Eisenhower has expressed the view that he would rather have a volunteer Army, if he thought he could get it. In canceling the draft calls, the Army admits it can get a volunteer Army.

Mission for adult education We who enjoy the consolations and share the missionary responsibilities of militant membership in the Communion of Saints are often wanting in sympathy for the spiritual plight of Protestants in good faith. We can be very niggardly, too, with our prayers for the millions who are finding themselves increasingly helpless, in the words of Dr. Henry Smith Leiper, before "the self-evident menace of an atomized church in the atomic age." The recently-fledged World Council of Churches, of which Dr. Leiper is the distinguished general secretary, encounters its most serious obstacle, he adds, in the disunion of the elements it is undertaking to federate. Though we cannot agree that "spiritual power in the Christian church depends on

togetherness" (isn't it the other way round, the grace of God creating and animating the Church One and Holy?) we should welcome heartily from such a source one more testimony to history's summary lesson that "the greatest force in human experience for the development of community is religion." Late reports from Germany tell us that the joint resistance of Catholics and Protestants to nazi paganism has made more intense and fruitful the postwar effort towards mutual understanding and cooperation of all German Christians. Much of the success of this movement to restore, in Dr. Leiper's phrase, the "unsplit atom" of Germany's lost unity of faith, has been achieved in Catholic Adult Education Centers in a score of cities from Berlin to Munich. American Protestants should find a hospitable welcome, too, with a practical answer to their quest for "togetherness in Christ," at the lecture courses, labor schools and study groups organized for adult laymen in our Catholic colleges and parishes from coast to coast this year. There is no reason why Americans should not profit, as Berliners of all faiths did recently, from a common study of "the origins of the Reformation and what has been done up to now to overcome the split in Christendom." There is a mission field here, on our doorsteps.

A "Liberal" coalition? To those who recognize the need of fundamental social reforms, the present trend toward reaction is very disturbing. That way lies dictatorship either of the right or the left. On the other hand, some of the efforts to stem the conservative tide are not very encouraging either. The so-called "liberals" in the country—broadly speaking, those who supported Franklin Roosevelt's objectives—are an extremely mixed group, and some of them are no more liberal than the reactionary forces they mobilize to fight. One of our contemporaries has invented a distinction which, if it fails to provide all the answers, does at least furnish a yardstick by which spurious liberals can be readily separated from the genuine article. The publication we have in mind consistently refers to "indecent liberals," meaning by that the self-styled liberals whose hearts bleed for the Greeks and Indonesians but who remain unperturbed by the rape of liberty in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Poland, Eastern Germany, Hungary, Lithuania, etc., as well as by the brutal denial of elemental freedoms to 180 million citizens of the USSR. Because we think this is a good distinction, we are skeptical about the new "liberal" coalition which made its formal bow in Manhattan last week. In addition to the CIO-PAC, the National Citizens Political Action Committee, the National Farmers Union and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the new alignment includes the National Lawyers Guild, the Southern Conference on Human Welfare and the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions. If any of these three latter groups has ever raised the slightest whisper against the Stalinist tyranny, we have failed to detect it. They appear to be either dominated by the Communists or so heavily infiltrated by them that their liberalism is suspect. We don't pro-

fess to know what the right formula is for liberals in American politics. We know only that it cannot include an alliance with Stalinist fronts any more than it might have included a working agreement with the late Nazi bund.

"A testimonial to grace" When the Rev. Dr. Morris Wee told the convention of the United Lutheran Church recently that there is "a conspiracy of silence concerning God in modern secular education," he was of course stating a well-known fact. Yet it is important to notice that this silence is not merely something negative; behind it is an influential philosophy of skepticism, materialism and liberalism which pervades college and university campuses and sets the tone of the intellectual life of the nation. A book just published by Sheed and Ward, *A Testimonial to Grace*, by Avery Dulles (121pp., \$1.50), shows that this philosophy prevails in many secondary schools as well. The product of one of the "better" non-sectarian boarding schools of New England, Dulles entered Harvard in the fall of 1936 with belief neither in God nor in his own soul. Though his family background was strongly religious, his secular education—dominated by his teachers of physics, history and literature—conveyed the impression that intelligent men could no longer believe in a supernatural religion nor in the immortality of the human soul. Morality was seen in the guise of a "social contract expressive of the general desire of the community." That he at last regained belief in God was due in large measure to "an unmerited dispensation of Providence" which brought him into contact with a tutor whose "scheme of values . . . was completely at odds with the spirit of the times, at least at Harvard." It was this tutor who first gave Dulles "a vivid picture of the Catholic faith." And contact with Aristotle, and eventually with the modern Aristotelians, Jacques Maritain and Etienne Gilson, carried him onward toward "the only sufficient cause for any conversion," divine grace. *A Testimonial to Grace*, which is the explanation of why Avery Dulles became a Catholic, is also both an indictment of secular education and a suggestion to it of how to mend its ways.

Fellow-traveler mind After the acute embarrassment caused by the Hitler-Stalin Pact in August, 1939, it scarcely seemed possible that American Communists could revive the "front" technique. After all, even the most innocent sucker knows when his fingers have been burned. However, what scarcely seemed possible in 1939 has actually occurred in 1946, and today more Stalinist fronts are in operation than ever before. The world situation being what it is, it has become of the highest importance to know the ideological score these days. While several studies of the "fellow-traveling" mind have appeared in recent months, none rivals Norbert Muhlin's penetrating diagnosis in the "World Events" supplement of the October 12 issue of the *New Leader*. Readers may obtain a copy by writing to the *New Leader* (7 East 15th St., New York 15) and enclosing ten cents in coin or stamps.

Washington Front

This is written from San Francisco and is meant to suggest that if the Republicans win any sizable victory on Nov. 5, it must surely rank as one of the really notable "anti" triumphs in American political history. The great hope of Republican leaders in State after State visited by newspaper correspondents in cross-country election surveys is that revulsion "against" Washington and the Democrats will return the GOP to power.

In most Republican speeches you have to plod through a couple thousand words of charges "against" the Roosevelt and Truman administrations before you find much about the positive side of the Republican case. Sometimes you never do, aside from generalization. Of course there is talk about the American Way, free enterprise and opportunity for all, but specific statements as to what Republican candidates for office propose to do about major economic and social questions of the day are hard to find.

No one reporter can read all the speeches, but those of the progressive Stassen and the conservative Taft are among those that say in really definite terms what these men believe. And both have their eyes not on 1946 but on 1948.

Everywhere the political leaders agree that the same

political elements are present. Shortages of meat, sugar, soap and clothing and general confusion over OPA are the greatest Democratic liability. Production-blocking strikes probably are next; especially is this true in Midwest farm areas. The Truman-Byrnes-Wallace porridge of foreign policy is probably third. And in some areas the fact that Communists or fellow-travelers have moved in under the Democratic tent either will drive conservative Democrats to voting for Republicans or, if the heresy seems too colossal, keep them home election day.

How complete some State Democratic party leaders consider the debacle in Washington in recent months is indicated by the fact that when they were offered top party names from Washington as speakers to help bolster local campaigns they said No, thanks.

Revulsion against the "ins" is no new thing in U. S. politics, but this time the political leaders seem beset by a vast uncertainty when they try to measure the extent of what is called the "ground-swell" away from the Democrats who have ruled the roost at Washington since 1933. There have been instances in the past of neither side being conscious of the fact that a tide of sharp reversal of party fortunes had set in. Today in many Western states both Republican and Democratic politicians are cautious about predictions—most of them say only that "it looks close." Most practitioners of the inexact science of election forecasting think the Republicans may take the House but not the Senate—but no one is very sure.

CHARLES LUCEY

Underscorings

The 1946 James J. Hoey Award, conferred annually on a white and upon a Negro layman who have contributed notably to interracial justice, will be given this year on October 27, feast of Christ the King, to Richard Reid, editor of the *Catholic News* of New York, and to Charles L. Rawlings, president of the Detroit Catholic Interracial Council. The Hoey Awards were first made in 1942. Recipients of other years have been Frank Hall of the *NCWC News Service* and Edward LaSalle, president of the Catholic Interracial Council of Kansas City; Philip Murray, president of CIO and Ralph Metcalfe of the NCCS; Mrs. Edward Morrell of Philadelphia and John L. Yancey, treasurer of the Catholic Labor Alliance, Chicago; Paul D. Williams, first secretary of the Catholic Committee of the South and Richard Barthé, Negro sculptor.

► "Church of the Air" (over CBS) began on October 6 a series of thirteen bi-weekly Catholic broadcasts on the Ten Commandments. The hour is 10 to 10:30 on Sundays, October 6, 20; November 3, 17; December 1, 15, 29, etc.

► New Publications: *Irish Bookman*, 2 Yarnall St., Dublin, a monthly edited by Seamus Campbell. Its format is

digest in size, but its articles, short stories, poems and reviews are mainly original. Vol. I, No. 1 appeared in August. The paper, type and cover design are excellent, and the contributors are drawn from the best in Ireland. The price is 14 shillings a year, post free.

► *From the Housetops*, a Catholic quarterly of 66 pages, published by St. Benedict Center, 23 Arrow St., Cambridge, Mass., starts off with a theological essay, "A Prelude to Faith," by Father Leonard Feeney, S.J., and ends with convert (and Jesuit novice) Avery Dulles' "On Keeping the Faith." In between is a long poem, "We Are the American Soldiers," by Thomas Butler Feeney, an essay on Hopkins by Daniel Sargent, an analysis of Secularism in American Colleges by Margaret T. O'Brien, two more poems, and papers on Existentialism and Plato and Liberal Education. Price: 50 cents a copy, \$1.75 a year.

► *Integrity*, whose first issue is October 1946, is a monthly "about Catholic lay life today," edited by Edward F. Willock and Carol Jackson. Six articles—by Herbert T. Schwartz, Arthur Sheehan, Peter Michaels, Paul Hanly Furfey, Stanley Vishnewski and Ed. Willock—make up the 48 pages of Vol. I, No. 1. Price: \$3 a year from Integrity Publishing Co., 1556 York Ave., New York.

► Catholic convention for November: 6-9, meeting of archdiocesan and diocesan directors of the Holy Name Society in New York.

A.P.F.

The conference and the peace

Perhaps it was necessary that the Peace Conference should fail. For, worse than having evil in the world is to have evil and not know it. An evil thing has been in the world for the past generation. It showed itself in many forms; in fascism, nazism, communism. It showed itself, at times, in such guise as to deceive, if not the elect, at least those whose sense of justice or freedom was based on sentiment rather than on a profound respect for the human person, human rights and the moral law which is the ultimate protection of the person and its rights. Nazism and fascism have been shown up for what they were; but for many, communism still had an aura of respectability.

Soviet lip-service to peace during the uneasy years of the "long armistice" and the undoubted heroism of the Russian people under the German attack helped the cause of those who wished to present communism as free and democratic, as a human system; and made it easier for those who wished to believe them to close their eyes to the sinister side of the communist dictatorship.

With the entry of the United States into the war, unity among the Allies became a paramount consideration; and America made immense efforts and immense sacrifices for that unity. The American guns, planes and tanks that rolled back the tide of German invasion, the hulls of American ships and the bones of American sailors that line the sea-roads to Murmansk, are eloquent testimony of our devotion to the unity of the Allied cause.

It was possible to pick out hopeful phrases from the carefully-worded communiques that came from behind closed doors at Moscow, Teheran, Casablanca, Yalta. The Grand Alliance was holding together, was smashing the enemy on every front; and American optimism, unaccustomed to facing naked evil, could always dream of a postwar Russia with a changed heart. But the Peace Conference has taken away our last illusions. Our American dream—which was not, mark you, a Christian dream—of a world progressively growing better and better has been shattered; and we feel something like an onset of panic as we learn what the world is really like. We have lived so long in our dream-world—our happy, materialistic, always-improving dream-world—that the stark reality of evil shocks and startles us. This one benefit, at least, the Peace Conference has bestowed: we know now that there is an evil in the world.

It is time to face our problem and estimate our resources. The problem is simply stated: how are we going to live in the same world with the Soviets and yet pre-

serve the values of our western civilization? The chief source of our strength is that we stand for those values which the spirit of man everywhere recognizes as valid. If there is unrest in India and Batavia, in China and South Africa, it is because men there hold by those values and will not rest while they are deprived of them. To them the Soviets will make their specious appeal; and we must see to it that our own slowness to recognize human rights does not drive them to take the Soviet bait.

We have an organization—the United Nations—imperfect, indeed, and needing swift and serious revision; but at least a forum where we can make ourselves heard, a bar where we can invite for our cause the judgment of world opinion. Through the UN we can challenge at every step the attempts of the inhuman Soviet system to extend its power. If the Soviets can show themselves intransigent, so can we; and intransigent we must be whenever it is a question of right or of humanity. We cannot allow ourselves to be blackmailed further. If the Soviets choose to abandon the UN when they find that it will not serve their purpose, it were better to let them go than to let our principles go. We do not seek a break; but it would be folly to buy unity at the cost of further fatal compromise.

No one, in the tangled world of today, can see very far ahead. That fact, in itself, makes nonsense of mere expediency; we should be expedient—for what? In the simple day-to-day adherence to our fundamental code of human rights and the moral law lies our salvation, if salvation there is to be for our generation.

Christ our sovereign

As we stumble and stutter through the ever-unfinished business of peace-making, it is at once a comfort and a warning to realize that the council-chambers of One World, no less than our hearts and hearths, are haunted by the Kingship of Christ. Even where His Name and Person are neglected or profaned by men and nations who know not, or have forgotten the things which are to their peace, His sovereign law provides the statesman, as well as the sinner, with the only alternative to chaos. The comfort, as we approach our family feast of Christ the King, lies in the fact that the alternatives have become at last so plain and public. The lines were never more clearly drawn. It will be a Christian peace, or we shall have no peace. He will rule, or we shall not be ruled.

This is the burden of all the comment, even of the cynical comment, that has come out of the deliberations and "recommendations" at Paris. Senator Vandenberg translated the only feeling of pride and hope the war has left us when he spoke at the close of the Conference

of "the equity and justice which has been the dedicated aim of our united arms." The good we recognized and welcomed in the Atlantic Charter, at Yalta, Potsdam and San Francisco, we see now, was the legacy, however feebly legible and feebly proclaimed, of Christ's sovereign law for the nations. Here was the Christian doctrine at the heart of the verdict at Nuremberg, where twenty-one sovereign states "found" and declared to the world that there is a law superior to that of any state, and appealed, over the heads of the embattled international lawyers, to "the conscience of mankind" for its enforcement. King, Judge and Consoler of that conscience, the sovereign Christ will point the essential issue of the debates on the meaning and sanction of "human rights and fundamental freedoms" upon which the destiny of the United Nations must ultimately be decided. At almost every turn of the printed page or radio-dial we are met with this growing, if worried and uneasy, emphasis on morality and sovereign law as the very substance of any rational "pattern for peace." The world's conscience is alert—not yet alas! to His Real Presence—but to the danger of spurning His authority and to the opportunity it offers for the recovery of our freedom. More heartening every day is the echo of President Roosevelt's noble Christmas note of 1939 to Pope Pius XII, with its "biblical overtones":

In their hearts men decline to accept, for long, the law of destruction forced upon them by wielders of brute force. Always they seek, sometimes in silence, to find again the faith without which the welfare of nations and the peace of the world cannot be rebuilt. But this increasing public recognition of an objective standard of Christian conduct, more compelling than the pressures of fear or power or expediency, carries with it a warning. Recognition and reverence for the sovereign law of Christ are not enough. "Not he who saith to me 'Lord, Lord' shall enter into the kingdom." The reign of "justice, charity and peace" (Preface of the Mass of Christ the King) will not be reconstructed without the dedication and commitment of our national and international life to the responsibility His grace has mercifully let us see through the darkness. Interpreting and exercising the gentle dominion of Christ over our wills, as well as our minds and hearts, His Vicar on earth Pope Pius XII answered the President's message referred to above with the last of his Five Fundamental Points for a Just and Durable Peace:

Even the best regulations will be imperfect and foredoomed to failure if the leaders of nations and the peoples themselves are not penetrated by that spirit which alone can bring life, authority and obligation to the dead letter of international agreements. There must be that sense of grave responsibility which studies and measures human laws by the holy and unchangeable divine law . . . there must be universal love which is the goal of the Christian ideal, and therefore builds a bridge to those who have not the happiness of sharing our faith.

In labor, sacrifice and sympathy with all men of good will may we heed the warning which is also an invitation to union, freedom and repose of conscience under the sovereignty of His Justice and Love!

Declaration of economic justice

To all AMERICA readers we earnestly commend the "Declaration of Economic Justice" which was signed by 122 Jewish, Protestant and Catholic leaders and made public on October 17 by the National Catholic Welfare Council, the Federal Council of Churches and the Synagogue Council of America. It is a heartening sign in these parlous days, when divisive forces are sowing seeds of hatred and suspicion everywhere, that these religious leaders could reach agreement on the moral principles underlying economic life. While there will be nothing new in the "Declaration" to those who are familiar with the social encyclicals of the Papacy, from Leo XIII to the present Holy Father, we judge it worthwhile to reprint a few pertinent excerpts from the document here.

Morality and Economics. "Economic problems are admittedly technical problems, but they are also theological and ethical. Ultimately they depend for their solution upon our concept of the nature of man—his origin and destiny, his rights and duties, his relationship to God and to his fellowmen."

Property Rights. "The right to private property is limited by moral obligations and is subject to social restrictions for the common good. Certain types of property, because of their importance to the community, ought properly to be under state or other forms of public ownership. But in general the aim of economic life should be the widest possible diffusion of productive and consumptive property among the great masses of the people."

Wages, Prices, Profits. "Stable and full employment cannot be achieved without a proper balance among prices, profits, wages and incomes generally. Wages must be maintained at that level which will most effectively contribute to full employment. In many cases this will mean that wages must be raised above a standard family living wage, which is only the minimum requirement of justice. The common good further requires that special efforts be made to raise the earnings of sub-standard income groups, not only in justice to them, but also in the interest of continuous employment."

Profit Motive. "To make the profit motive the guiding principle in economic life is to violate the order which God Himself has established. The profit motive, while useful within reasonable limits, must be subordinated to the motive of the service of human needs and the dictates of social justice."

Free Association. "It is the duty of the free associations of workers, farmers, employers and professional people to govern themselves democratically and to assume their full responsibility for the ethical conduct of their own industry or profession and for the economic welfare of the community and all its parts."

Organized Cooperation. "Economic life is meant to be an organized and democratic partnership for the general

welfare rather than a competitive struggle for individual or group advantage."

Government Action. "The amount of government action on Federal, State and local levels will be determined by the extent to which the common good is not being achieved by the functional economic system."

This "Declaration" opposes uncompromisingly the great heresy of the modern age—the heresy of secularism; that is, it reaffirms the essential truth that God's law extends to the marketplace and, by inference, to all public life. It would be an excellent idea if our various economic groups would adopt this "Declaration" as a statement of their own aims and objectives. Nothing would contribute more at present to peace and prosperity.

AFL's sound federal-aid policy

A year ago last March Senators Mead and Aiken introduced in the Senate a Federal-aid bill (S. 717) that looked to the equalization of educational opportunity for all children, without discrimination on account of race, color, creed or type of school attended. That bill was strongly supported by the American Federation of Labor; so much so that when it was attacked in the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, the AFL put out in pamphlet form a vigorously reasoned defense, "Opportunity for Education for All." Straight answers were given to objections against granting aid to church schools, and against charges that S. 717 would set up a union of Church and State, flout constitutional enactments in the several States and destroy the public school system.

In the end, however, the Mead-Aiken bill died in committee. AFL representatives were astonished and shocked at the "bitterness" and "bigotry" displayed by opponents of the bill; one opponent going so far as to accuse the Catholic schools of promoting crime and producing criminals. This sort of bigotry, the AFL thinks, cannot be ignored. And so its Executive Council reported to the 65th convention, now in session in Chicago, a reiteration of its support of the principles contained in the Mead-Aiken bill.

Those principles are chiefly six: 1) minority races in States maintaining separate schools should receive their per capita share of Federal funds; 2) educational opportunity for every child, irrespective of color, race, creed or school attended, must be the concern of the Federal Government; 3) in allocating funds the Federal Government is not bound by inadequate or discriminatory State laws; 4) Federal funds should be allocated on the basis of relative needs; 5) Federal funds must supplement, not supersede, State and local educational appropriations; 6) Federal aid must be safeguarded against Federal control. These are sound principles which the AFL can well stand by. Its continued support of them is an honor to itself and a mighty aid to American justice for all the people.

Spain's cultural empire

A country's culture is so much a matter of natural growth that an ordinary person feels uneasy when a national government announces that it is embarking on an international culture program. General Franco's "Day of the Race" (Columbus Day) speech advocated such a cultural empire, in which Spain would be world leader.

Uneasiness is stimulated by the example of Soviet Russia. She first introduced on a big scale her canned, propagandistic "culture" to the United States at New York's "World of Tomorrow" Fair before the second World War, and is now conditioning with it every people subject to her political domination. It is not pleasant to think of any nation, however worthy, as engaged in what might seem to resemble the Russian effort. On the other hand, the furious intensity with which Communist cultural propaganda is waged makes a counter-effort inevitable by Spain, especially in Latin America.

But Russia is not the only country to provoke such a Spanish cultural reaction. It is inevitable that the peoples in the Latin-American countries should be looking for some kind of an escape from, or substitute for, the kind of culture which comes to them from this country in the shape of American films, the *Reader's Digest* and other U.S. periodicals, also translations of English-language publications which attack their Catholic faith or still more frequently preach a profoundly un-Spanish standard of family morals. Nor does the conventional Hollywood version of Latin-American living or of Latin Americans in the U.S. win them to our own culture.

It would indeed develop into a very notable disaster, for Spain as for the rest of the world, if the new cultural project were to become, as doubtless certain groups would like it to become, a mere vehicle of nationalist propaganda, directly countering the Russian style. Some of the developments at the International Congress of Pax Romana, held in Spain in June of this year, led to some misgivings on the part of other countries. But there are many indications that a wholesome and genuinely cultural program is intended. General Franco's own words expressly ruled out politics and a desire for "the subjugation of peoples and cultures." "We have," he said, "neither the wish nor ambition for these." His talk contrasted strongly with his Columbus Day talks in the early 1940's.

Finally, the general direction of the Spanish cultural program has been entrusted to Joaquín Ruiz Jiménez, newly appointed director of the Hispanic Culture Institute. As President all through the late war of Pax Romana, international student secretariat, Dr. Ruiz Jiménez made a fine impression here by his genuinely democratic spirit and his explicit disassociation from fascistic ideas and tendencies. If he is left free to carry out his own plans, there is good hope that the Spanish culture movement, which has already made a good start internally, will have a normal and healthy development abroad. If it does, it should be a blessing for Latin America, and a benefit as well as a lesson for the United States.

World judgment on persecutors

John La Farge

The case of Archbishop Stepinatz represents the emergence of religious persecution as an instrument of policy, and that emergence is a threat to international peace. As such, it is rightly the concern of the United Nations. What will the Security Council do about it?

I had heard something of the terrible harshness which the ruling element in Yugoslavia exercised toward those who were not of their nationality or their faith; but it was one thing to hear of such harshness, another to have the evidence thrust upon you. The Archbishop believed it was time that people in the rest of the world saw something of that evidence. Opening a drawer in his desk, he took out and handed to me a contraption made of leaden weights and an automobile chain. "This," he said, "is a scourge with which some of my people have been tortured by some of the gang now in power."

The Archbishop—his name was Aloysius Stepinatz and this was in the pleasant old quondam Austrian town of Zagreb, in May, 1938—was an unforgettable personality: young, tall, of athletic build, with a direct, candid glance and an easy, democratic approach that made him seem more like an American than a European prelate in the Balkans. If the scourge was Exhibit A, he had as Exhibit B a little piece of paper, a signed receipt of payment for a trifling sum. A Croatian peasant farmer had a piece of property which happened to lie on both sides of the Yugoslav-Hungarian border. A half-dozen times a day the peasant passed over the border on the way to milk his cows or tend his garden. Each time he flourished his pass he was greeted by a nod and a smile from the Serbian guards at the boundary. One day the good man forgot his pass. He waved and made a signal of explanation. The guards waved back to him and shot him dead. The document was a bill made out to the man's son, for the powder and labor expended in shooting his father, "in compliance with the law." Amount, if I recollect, about \$1.30 in our money.

"This," said Archbishop Stepinatz, "is the way that things are being done today in our country." And such things, such cruelties, such inhumanities and persecutions of men for their nationality, their language, their religion, he explained to me, meant war. And war it soon did mean, hell let loose over his own Yugoslavia.

It was this meeting with Archbishop Stepinatz which introduced me to two things that have left an ineffaceable memory. The first was the introduction to a magnificent personality: a man who bore upon every inch of him the stamp of an apostolic man of God, a genial friend of all classes and kinds of people, and a courageous vindicator of human rights. The second was an introduction to new forms of religious and racial persecution.

The arrest, the brutal trial and the sentencing of the same Archbishop Stepinatz on October 12 of this year to sixteen years of hard labor on unproved charges in a trial which was flagrantly one-sided, have done for the world what that meeting in Zagreb did personally for me. For the heroism and majestic resignation with which the Archbishop has faced these events have re-

vealed that personality to the world. They have spread upon the pages of history the character and the utterances of a man of whom comparatively little was known but a few weeks back. And these events have likewise introduced the whole world to the presence of religious persecution as a growing menace in our time, to its cruelty and its treachery—aptly symbolized by the scourge and the frontier incident—and to its threat to international peace.

The ringing voice of Cardinal Spellman has proclaimed Archbishop Stepinatz as a martyr to truth and justice. Cardinal Mooney has declared that official silence in the face of such a trial is inconsistent with United States foreign policy in regard to liberated Europe. Archbishop Cushing of Boston has denounced the trial as "the crudest kind of political propaganda," and a "campaign to discredit the Church." Archbishop McNicholas of Cincinnati urges that priests and people request our Government to protest against the persecution. Archbishops Kiley of Milwaukee and Rummel of New Orleans and Bishop Eustace of Camden have spoken in the same way.

The statement of Cardinal Stritch that the indictment of Stepinatz was a "travesty," and asking for protests upon the part of our Government, coincides with a similar declaration on the part of Cardinal Griffin, Archbishop of Westminster in England; while the *Osservatore Romano*, speaking for the Vatican, has shown the baselessness of the six charges made against the Archbishop.

If you will consult the *Catholic Mind* for February, 1944, you will find therein Archbishop Stepinatz' own words, given in a sermon he preached on the Feast of Christ the King, October, 1942, and broadcast to Germany by the Vatican radio on July 6, 1943. On this occasion the Archbishop said:

We assert that every people and every race which has been formed on earth today has the right to life and to treatment worthy of man. All of them without distinction, be they members of the Gypsy race or of another, be they Negroes or civilized Europeans, be they Jews or Aryans, all of them have equal right to say: "Our Father, who art in Heaven." If God has granted this power to all human beings, what worldly power could deny it? ... If the axiomatic theories of race are carelessly applied, is there any safety for a people on earth? No one has the right to kill by his own whim or to harm members of other races or nationalities in other ways. Even the most primitive of men, whatever his name may be, to whatever race or nation he belongs, bears the stamp of the Living God, his immortal soul.

It is this man, and countless other innocent men like him, who are being betrayed and scourged in Yugoslavia today for the crime of being faithful to God, to their religious beliefs, and for being champions of freedom for all mankind.

The Nazis taught us that religious persecution based upon racial theory was a prime mover of war and a menace to the peace of the world. If such theories are applied, asked Archbishop Stepinatz, "is there any safety for a people on earth?" Today we know that religious persecution in any form is such a menace, and therefore we should be blindly neglectful if we failed to make use, for that purpose, of such organized machinery as at present we have available for bringing this matter before the judgment of the peoples of the world.

In a few days, the General Assembly of the United Nations will convene in New York City, according to the procedure outlined elsewhere in this issue. It seems to me, therefore, altogether fitting, not to say imperative, that the issue presented by the case of Archbishop Stepinatz should be brought before the Assembly. That issue is not simply the case of wrongs inflicted upon a single individual, however worthy he may be. It is the wide issue of the emergence of religious persecution, *deliberately, coldly planned*, as a skilled instrument of political policy. And that emergence is of its nature a threat to the peace of the whole modern world.

There is nothing novel or out of order in such a proposal. The General Assembly, by Article 10 of the present Charter, "may discuss any questions or any matters within the scope of the present Charter or relating to the powers and functions of any organs provided for in the present Charter." It may also make recommendations to the Security Council on any such questions or matters. The General Assembly, too, according to Article 11, 3, "may call the attention of the Security Council to situations which are likely to endanger international peace and security."

The Charter's principles, however, are specifically defined and made known in the Declaration of Purposes, Article 1, 3, one of these principles being "promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to sex, race, language or religion." The objective is clearly stated.

That such cases of their very nature are a matter of international concern is one of the prime lessons of the Nuremberg verdict: not only a matter of international concern, but of the law of nations itself. Returning from a ten-months' mission on the staff of Justice Jackson, Father Edmund A. Walsh, S.J., vice-president of Georgetown University and regent of the School of Foreign Service, wrote the following for the National Catholic Welfare Conference:

No longer can a government launch an aggressive war or outrage common decency under the protection of the immunity previously claimed for a sovereign state. What Nuremberg achieved was to put all governments on notice that they are responsible to the common conscience of humanity as well as to the narrow national interests of a given state or the directives of their own legislature or the orders of

some temporary dictator. As a result the rights of minorities, the dignity of human personality and the inviolability of religion have been vindicated by judicial action, and crimes against these bulwarks of freedom have been punished by concrete penalties in the name and by the authority of twenty-one nations.

It must always be remembered that the Nuremberg trial was not an act of reprisal by the four great Powers who sat on the bench. They were the spokesmen and the agents of twenty-one nations which signed the Charter of the Court and bade their agents take such action as the evidence warranted.

This is not merely an instance of a saintly and wronged Archbishop. The words of Associate Justice Jackson at Buffalo, in his comment upon the trials at Nuremberg, show that this is a question that concerns the civil rights of people everywhere.

The culprit in this instance is not an outlaw nation, but one of those who are represented in the Nuclear Commission charged with the preparations for the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. It is impossible

for the United States, either as a member of that Commission-to-be, or of any other branch of the United Nations, to keep its self-respect and establish its record for consistent conduct in future years, if it allows the flagrant emergence of religious persecution, and of minority persecution under religious guise, to go unheeded and unprotested. The remarks made by Dean Acheson, Under-Secretary of State, in which he expressed his uneasiness and concern over such a situation, indicate that our own State Department is to some degree conscious of the danger shown to its own honesty and integrity by remaining silent under such circumstances.

What the concrete results would be of the General Assembly's "recommendation" to the Security Council, I cannot define. This, as yet, is an unexplored region in UN's brief history. But that we do not know what the result might be is no excuse for neglecting to avail ourselves of the opportunities we so abundantly and rightfully possess.

Millions of Catholics, and thousands of Catholic organizations in this country and abroad, are willing to lend moral support to such an appeal by their respective protests. Many of the bishops of this country have already recommended to their people that they make their voices heard in no uncertain terms. Millions of others not of our faith, but conscious of the illimitable harm that religious and racial persecution can effect, once it is let loose upon the earth, will be willing to join with us when we make our own concern known. But the important thing, it seems to me, is to delay no longer; it is for our own United States Government to get busy and see that the moral issue of human rights, and the threat to international peace involved in the case of Archbishop Stepinatz' condemnation, shall be placed squarely at the outset



upon the agenda of the General Assembly of the United Nations. If this case is allowed to go by default, the ground lost will not easily be recovered.

The courage with which the Archbishop rebuked the torturers in 1938, with which he sheltered and liberated countless Jews in the war years, and gave harbor to the exiled Slovenes, clergy and laity, with which he faced his raging captors and responded in measured simplicity to their jeering reproaches—may some of that courage inspire us in rousing the machinery of the United Nations to act in this instance against a living and active menace in our midst. Certainly it is a capital test of the ability of that machinery to achieve the purposes for which it was explicitly created.

The world's town meeting reconvenes

Robert A. Graham

When the General Assembly ended its work in London last February, the United Nations was still largely a paper organization. Nine months later the Assembly reconvenes in New York, equipped with a sizable Secretariat of several thousand men and women and installed in semi-permanent headquarters.

It is hard to say whether the deliberative functions of the Assembly or its supervisory functions will be more significant. The biggest item on the agenda of the Assembly will probably never appear as such on the calendar. The growing rift between Soviet totalitarianism and Western democracy, which became more and more apparent at Paris and which already may have crystallized beyond recovery, will undoubtedly dominate the minds of all the delegates as it preoccupies the ordinary citizen. The various items painstakingly lined up by Secretary General Trygve Lie for the consideration of the Assembly will inevitably present themselves in one way or another as forms of this same Russian-Western problem. Will the General Assembly, the democratic organ of the United Nations, hailed as the "town meeting of the world," be able to contribute to the restoration of unity among the victor nations or will it at least clarify the issues?

The Assembly's deliberative functions are expressed under the provisions of Article 10 of the Charter, where it is authorized to "discuss any questions or any matter within the scope of the present Charter." It needs no proof to show that the dangerous drift of international politics now so evident among the victorious nations is certainly "within the scope" of the peace organization. In many ways it is fortunate that the Assembly was postponed until after the Paris conference. Although the United States gave only reluctant and passive consent to the double postponement, there are good reasons now for regarding the delay as lucky. The General Assembly is now practically invited to pass judgment on the Paris Conference. A change of venue from Paris to New York may provide the nations of the world, particularly the

twenty-one who took part at Paris, with a chance to re-examine their conduct in the light of UN principles.

The deliberative functions of the Assembly in this connection should not be underestimated. Some cynics may say that the Assembly can only "talk." United Nations personnel are pointing out, however, that perhaps "talk" is just what the world needs at this juncture. They say that what the victorious nations need is to go out and discuss among themselves in what direction the world is going. Delegates from the small nations, who predominate in the Assembly and who by background put a premium on reason and good sense, refuse to admit that no good is done by talking things over. They feel that precisely because the Assembly is not in a position to go beyond discussion it is less amenable to the pressure of high-powered international politics. They point out that the Assembly is the closest thing to a conscience the nations have on a political level, since it is a world forum, and that if anything can create a somewhat clearer atmosphere for the tired delegates from Paris the Assembly can. As long as this voice exists, they say, there is hope that the politicians and the people will not lose entirely their vision of a better world.

These thoughts are likely to crop out when the Assembly reviews the work of the Security Council. A report consisting of 151 mimeographed pages has been prepared by the Council for submission to the Assembly in accordance with the rules of the Charter. The remarks made in the Assembly at this point will most likely be among the sharpest of the whole session. Cuba has already submitted to the Secretary General a proposal for the convening of a general convention to revise the Charter, particularly in reference to the veto provisions. Australia also has submitted some recommendations dealing with the method of voting in the Security Council. In the report of the Security Council, the Cubans and Australians will find abundant material to justify their criticisms of the veto prerogatives of the permanent members of the Council. Cuba was, with Colombia, the only country to vote against these veto provisions. The arguments of the Cuban delegation can justifiably take the tone of "I told you so."

Back of this apparently procedural question is a deeper one affecting the principle of absolute national sovereignty. The atom bomb and the reckless use and abuse of the veto by Soviet delegate Gromyko have brought the prestige of sovereignty to a low ebb. During the debates on the report, the Security Council will find out what perhaps is not so clearly realized by some of its members, namely, that membership in the Council is a responsibility and not a privilege. Each country represented on the Council acts not in its own name but on behalf of the other Members of the Organization. Several countries have already criticized the tendency of the Russians to utilize the Council for political purposes of their own. It was this reason that impelled the Security Council to refuse even to consider a Soviet request for information as to the number and location of U. S. and British troops in the territory of other United Nations.

The report of the Social and Economic Council will

provide the General Assembly with the opportunity to exercise its supervisory functions and not merely its deliberative ones. While the Assembly can perform an indispensable role at Flushing by pointing out the causes of world friction and dramatizing the issues for all the world to see, there are a number of tasks on which it can take action in its own name. In the field of economic and social cooperation a busy session is ahead.

The Social and Economic Council, one of the three principal organs set up at London, has been extremely active. Its work comes before the Assembly for approval or revision. In the Assembly, through this Council, is centered the vast and ever-growing web of international organizations or "specialized agencies" which in their own sphere can effect important results for world harmony. Operating, theoretically at least, on the sub-political level, these organizations are at the moment the clearest road ahead for international cooperation. The Social and Economic Council will report on its negotiations with the International Labor Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, and the Food and Agricultural Organization. A report on relationships with UNRRA is also scheduled.

The above-named specialized agencies were set up prior to or without the aid of the United Nations. A more creative role was performed by the Social and Economic Council in stimulating preparations for an International Health Organization. Two other important issues under this heading are those dealing with the reconstruction of devastated areas and the handling of refugees through a proposed International Refugee Organization. These two subjects were prominent in the deliberations of the last session of the Council.

One is almost tempted to define "important issues" as those on which the Soviet Union may be expected to differ from the rest of the United Nations. In the case of the proposed commission on the reconstruction of devastated areas, this opposition may materialize. The proposal in question calls for a European Economic Commission which will have the task of coordinating European economy in the immediate postwar years, with a view to the speediest possible recovery. Poland, for example, has plenty of coal available for burning. But she lacks trained technicians for other fields of industrial activity. Other countries lack coal but have an abundance of technicians. Belgium needs coal miners; other countries have more manpower than they can employ. The wisdom of achieving some sort of economic coordination in the present confused state of European economy should be evident. The Soviet Union has tended, however, to hold itself aloof from the proposal, and it is clear that should the Russians denounce the plan in the Assembly its satellites, Poland, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, will hardly take a contrary stand.

The proposed International Refugee Organization, whose constitution is up for approval or revision by the Assembly, may also be expected to encounter Soviet opposition or passive resistance. The USSR has never acquiesced in the idea that the purposes of refugees arrangements should be anything else than repatriation,

willing or unwilling. The resettlement of refugee Poles, Ukrainians, Balts and Yugoslavs in other lands appear to the Russians and their satellites as only a way of creating centers of anti-Soviet intrigue abroad. It never occurs to them that if this were the only purpose of the resettlement we could do it in a much more efficient and cheaper way. The program of resettlement is so expensive that there is still some doubt whether sufficient money will be forthcoming to carry out the program.

The Assembly is scheduled to take up other questions, difficult in themselves and not by reason of extraneous political issues. Among these are budgetary questions, the question of the Westchester-Fairfield area for permanent headquarters and the assumption of League of Nations functions and assets.

It is to be hoped, too, that the one big black eye of the previous General Assembly, its failure to create the Trusteeship Council, will be remedied. Part of the cause for delay at London was that at that time the fate of the Italian colonies in the peace treaties was still under debate by the Big Four. Furthermore the United States was not prepared then (and perhaps not even now) to declare its intentions with regard to the former Japanese mandated islands, some of which have already been turned into naval bases. This action and the hesitation it has caused have been a scandal in American foreign policy and are calculated to strengthen the contention of other countries that the United States is imperialistic. During the Assembly we shall discover to what extent the military and naval heads dictate our foreign policy.

One thing can be predicted with definiteness. The Assembly will be marked, or marred, by open and frank disagreement. Will this be a good thing or a bad thing? Probably it is not necessarily bad; provided the disagreements are on questions that deserve disagreement with the Soviet-controlled bloc. A veteran League of Nations observer has written recently that one of the defects of the old organization was the high premium set upon the appearance of agreement. Frantic consultations were the order of the Assembly's day at Geneva as the delegates strove to achieve a "satisfactory formula," which by meeting everyone's demand meant little or nothing when passed. It would have been better, thinks this commentator, had the League frankly admitted differences of view, even if the admission caused dismay.

Among the similarities between the old League and the new Organization one should certainly not include a passion for unanimity. Thanks to the "robust diplomacy" introduced by Foreign Minister Molotov from the first kick-off at San Francisco, the delegates are prepared to give as good as they receive. This was the story at London. It will in all likelihood be the story at Flushing. If there are basic disagreements in the United Nations, it is better to find this out sooner than later. It is dangerous to maintain an illusory appearance of agreement. It is the purpose of the Assembly's debates to bring out if and where disagreements exist. World opinion and the American public will then judge where best we can go from there.

The constitution of the Fourth Republic

Jerome G. Kerwin

For the fourth time since the Revolution, France gives itself a republican constitution. The Third Republic had a hundred governments in seventy years. Has the Fourth Republic a more viable charter? asks Jerome G. Kerwin, Professor of Political Science at the University of Chicago.

"France is a republic—indivisible, secular, democratic, and social," the motto of which is "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" and the principle of which is "government of the people, for the people and by the people." Thus in Title I is described the proposed government of the Fourth Republic. Americans will note with pride the immortal words of Lincoln; some will note with mixed feelings the term "secular"; but France has been a secular republic since 1905.

Perhaps few will note the term "social," which constitutes a recognition in law of the existing situation in modern states. By the use of the term, the framers of the proposed basic law have declared themselves opposed to the extreme individualism of the nineteenth century. The term indisputably stands for different degrees of socialization in the minds of the members of the predominant parties of France—the MRP, the Socialist and the Communist; but to all it means a greater degree of social and state responsibility for the welfare of citizens than has hitherto been recognized. This fact is amply attested in the Preamble where, after the recognition that "every human being, without distinction of race, religion, belief, possesses inalienable and sacred rights," we find a recognition of "the duty to work" and "the right to obtain employment," followed by the further statements that "every man may defend his rights and interests by trade-union action," that every worker, through his delegates, "participates in collective bargaining . . . as well as in the management of business," and finally, that "all projects and all businesses whose exploitation has acquired the characteristics of a national public service or a monopoly in fact should become the property of the community."

While the Declaration of Rights of 1789 is guaranteed in the Preamble, the new guarantees are largely of an economic nature. This is not peculiar to the proposed French constitution but is to be noted in every constitution framed within the last quarter-century. Noteworthy among these guarantees are assurances to the individual and to the family "of conditions necessary to their development"—conditions of health, material security, rest and leisure for children, mothers, the aged and those unable to work. While many of these guarantees are still matters of debate in this country, it should be remembered that they have been recognized in law and practice both in England and on the Continent for at least two generations.

While words on paper are not self-executing, and we have always in memory the noble declaration of the Weimar constitution of 1919, it is gratifying to note in the Preamble that "the French Republic conforms to the rules of international law" and that "it will undertake no war with a view to conquest and will never employ

its forces against the liberty of any people." The test of this article will come in French colonial administration, in Indo-China and elsewhere.

Very interesting will be the application of the provision: "The nation guarantees equal access of the child and the adult to instruction, to vocational training and to culture." We take it that this, at the least, guarantees the existence of religious schools which undertake to support themselves. In the following sentence the organization of free and secular public education at all stages is recognized as a duty of the state. There would seem to be no provision in this or any other part of the proposed constitution against the granting of subsidies to private educational institutions. Nowhere does one find the restrictive provisions against such a practice which one finds in the constitutions of the States of our Union; but the unfortunate memories of the Church-State conflict in France will provide a similar restriction in that country—for how long, no one can say.

Under the proposed constitution, unlike the constitution rejected earlier this year, France will have a two-chambered legislative body composed of a popular National Assembly elected by direct universal suffrage and a Council of the Republic elected by an indirect system to be provided for by later statute. The indirect system will in all probability follow the method used for election of the Senate of the Third Republic, that is, by joint action of the local assemblies of the communes and districts within the departments—a method somewhat similar to that followed in this country until recent years for the election of members of the United States Senate.

The MRP and parties of the right opposed the first draft constitution on the ground that there would be no check on the actions of the popular assembly. The Council of the Republic is set up as such a check, but it is not a legislative body of equal power with the National Assembly. It may advise and it may delay legislation for as much as two months—financial legislation for a lesser time. It has been very properly called the "Chamber of Reflection." Its powers in ordinary legislation are less than those of the House of Lords in England. Being a smaller body than the National Assembly, it may have more opportunity for mature deliberation, and it may possibly attain a position of prestige by giving publicity to unwise and hasty legislation.

In recent years, however, second chambers of this type have failed to attain prestige and have tended to become more innocuous with the passage of years. The opponents of a second chamber have had this much political wisdom on their side, namely, that in a parliamentary form of government it is impractical to operate with two equally powerful legislative chambers. Practice has demonstrated that responsibility to two chambers on

the part of a cabinet leads inevitably to confusion and uncertainty. While the Senate under the Third Republic seldom exercised its powers of unseating a cabinet, it was evident in recent years that it was becoming more aware of its opportunities to do so. It was the Abbé Sieyès who said of second chambers that if they approve of what the first chamber does, they are useless; that if they reject all that the first chamber does, they are a nuisance. There is a third possibility which the Abbé Sieyès did not consider, and that is revision, correction and advice. That is evidently to be the role of the new Council of the Republic.

Very important from the point of view of popular responsibility are the provisions which permit a dissolution of the Parliament. Every critic of the Third Republic recognized that one of the outstanding reasons for the frequent change of governments in France was the lack of the power of dissolution. The members of the old Chamber of Deputies, safely elected for a four-year term, voted ministers out of office for slight and often unworthy causes, knowing that in doing so they themselves did not have to face the voters at once for their acts. Under the proposed constitution, each Parliament is given an assured life of eighteen months. After that time, if a cabinet on two occasions within any period of eighteen months is denied a vote of confidence by an absolute majority of the National Assembly, the cabinet, on the advice of the presiding officer of the Assembly, may order a dissolution, to be followed by the election of a new Parliament within a specified time.

This is a middle-of-the-road solution: it seeks to prevent too frequent ousting of cabinets for little reason; and it seeks to prevent too frequent elections, which, as under the German Republic, might undermine the faith of the people in the stability of their political institutions.

The office of President under the new constitution is not so powerful as in this country, nor so powerless as the English kingship. In French opinion, the office as set up in the proposed constitution is not as powerful as De Gaulle would have it, nor so lacking in authority as the left-wing parties would like it.

It is proposed that the President of the Republic be elected for seven years by the two chambers of Parliament by secret ballot, and that he be eligible for re-election but once. He is given power to appoint all the chief administrative officers of state—judges, the local prefects, ambassadors and ministers. All ambassadors from foreign states are accredited to him, and all laws are promulgated by him. All of his acts, however, must be countersigned by a minister responsible to the National Assembly. It is not unlikely that custom will require that he remain above politics and in all public acts and speeches confine himself to polite, harmless generalities.

The proposed constitution does not leave in doubt the question of inability of a President to serve. Our own

constitution is unfortunately rather vague on this point. Death and resignation are obvious facts open to no question, but what does "inability to serve" mean, and who determines it? The recently approved French constitution definitely states that the National Assembly determines the question of inability to serve. In such a situation, a new President is chosen for a new term of seven years.

At the opening of each Parliament, the President "after the customary consultation" selects a Prime Minister or Premier. "Customary consultation" means that he must consult with the leading members of the dominant parties in Parliament. There is no requirement that the Premier or his cabinet be members of Parliament. Having been chosen by the President, the Premier, even before he has chosen a cabinet, must appear before the National Assembly and secure a vote of confidence by an absolute majority. One wonders upon how many previous promises of appointments to cabinet posts and under-secretaryships this vote of confidence will depend. The cabinet is responsible collectively to the National Assembly for general policy and individually for personal actions. They are responsible for crimes to a specially constituted High Court of Justice, the members of which are chosen by the National Assembly at the opening of each Parliament. France, therefore, would continue the parliamentary system, with certain special provisions to secure greater stability and responsibility.

Significant of the world political developments of recent

years in the relationship of colonies to their mother country are the provisions dealing with the French Empire, now called the French Union. In the Preamble it is stated that France puts aside "all systems of colonization founded on arbitrary power" and will endeavor to direct the people for whom she has assumed responsibility "toward freedom to govern themselves and democratically to manage their own affairs." Some twenty-two articles are devoted to the constitution and affairs of the French Union. The President of France is the President of the French Union. A legislative body is proposed, composed of a High Council—of ambassadors from the associated states

—and an Assembly of the Union chosen by the legislative bodies of the associated states. Metropolitan France is to be represented in both bodies; in the Assembly, it will have one-half of the representation, to be chosen by the French Parliament. The legislative organs of the Union will give the territories an opportunity to voice opinion and objections, but the force of law is given to their proposals through the regular organs of government of the French Republic. Only experience will show the effectiveness of the Union government; it is already characterized as an empty gesture in colonial circles. Such hope for better status as the colonial has may rest on one paragraph—a masterpiece of constitutional vacuity—which provides: "The respective status of members



of the Republic and of the French Union are susceptible to evolution."

After World War I, many European states provided in their new constitutions for national economic advisory councils to advise the regular legislative bodies on business and commercial matters. Besides their constituting an advisory body, it was hoped that these new organs of government would perform research and represent business generally. No general conclusion can be drawn about their success or failure; the brief space of time in which they operated prevented any judgment. In the proposed French constitution, such a council is provided for. The National Assembly and the Cabinet may ask its advice on economic matters. It must be consulted "on the adoption of a plan for full employment and the rational use of material resources." It resembles our ill-fated National Resources Planning Board, so unceremoniously and unwisely abolished by the Congress.

Amendment of the proposed organic law is permitted by a two-thirds vote of the Assembly or by a three-fifths vote of the Assembly and the Council of the Republic. Any proposal for amendment approved by a vote of less than two-thirds of the Assembly or three-fifths of the members of each house must be submitted to popular referendum.

With the approval, on October 13, of the proposed constitution, France once again has a complete basic law. The Third Republic operated under a makeshift series of constitutional laws which the monarchists of 1875 believed would be satisfactory until Bourbons and Orleanists had come to an agreement on an occupant for the throne. The strong movement towards republicanism prevented this, but the transitional basic law remained. The present proposed fundamental law is not a radical document or in general governmental arrangement a significant departure from the parliamentary systems of the Third Republic. Many of the weaknesses and uncertainties of the old system have, however, been eradicated.

Tenants are so interesting

Ezra J. Poulsen

The landlord is like the proverbial fat man; nobody loves him. But, as the owner of a small housing project, I have come to think that the interests of society would be served if the spotlight were turned on the tenant a little more often.

Frequently I find tenants exasperating, sometimes exciting, but always interesting. The proprietor never knows what to expect next, except that if he doesn't keep his ear to the ground and his eye alert, something's going to happen that he won't like. He will find someone's initials carved on the door, a tenant will go off and leave a flatiron connected with a switch, or the doorknobs will disappear.

One really needs to have the combined qualities of

Beau Brummel, Sherlock Holmes and General MacArthur. I have had to call the police to take bibulous tenants and their guests to the city jail for a cooling-off period; I have had to sleuth for days to get information for the anti-vice squad and the childrens' aid society; I have had a new tenant move in with her bedding literally crawling with bedbugs, then raise the cry that the house was filthy and needed debugging. Nevertheless, the tenant belongs to the class that's always right.

From the point of view of the landlord, there are several standard offenses which seem perennial and which tend to classify a large part of the renting public. There are the folks who never turn off the water taps, leave their radios running full blast while they go on shopping tours, and even, as happened in one case, lock up their apartment and go on a month-long trip to a neighboring State without turning off the heating gas. There are those who talk loudly, give frequent parties and quarrel with the neighbors. And of course we should mention the gripers, who greet you whenever possible with complaints about the service and tell you how much better it was at the last place where they lived.

Occasionally tenants have risen to more spectacular heights. There was the mild-appearing young couple who on the first night of their occupancy staged a butcher-knife duel, which ended in a draw after terrorizing the neighborhood. Then there were the pair who said their luggage was in transit, and would we please let them have some quilts, dishes and other utensils for a few days until their own things arrived? We did, but their own things never arrived. Instead, we found the apartment vacant one morning. Our trusted tenants had flown away like two little birds seeking a warmer climate. I believe it will be hot where they finally go.

The landlord is one of the chief sufferers from all kinds of social and economic ills, from simple domestic flare-ups to major depressions. If a man gets drunk and beats his wife or gets fired, it's the landlord who likely has the first worry about the financial status of the family until things are running smoothly again. He is frequently appealed to by both parties and finds himself sitting on the board of arbitration. When times are hard and employment is scarce, even tenants of the highest integrity often find it difficult to pay the rent; others immediately take advantage of the situation, and the property-owner is forced to decide whether to start eviction proceedings or take a chance on collecting at some more favorable time. If he tries leniency, he is very likely to lose a large percentage of his earnings, perhaps be thrown into insolvency; for there is nothing people dislike so much as paying back-rent. They feel it's like paying for a dead horse. If, on the other hand, he gets hard-boiled, he is regarded as a Shylock, concerned only with getting his pound of flesh. And opinion, in court and out of it and in the press, is against him. When the economic trend is in his favor, and housing is scarce, he is still regarded with suspicion; any effort on his part to raise the rent to offset the lean years brings storms of protest and finally legislative enactments.

I recall a few case histories which illustrate the ups

and downs of the landlord. There was the young baker who lived in my house, working only part-time, but highly recommended as honest and capable. He got behind with his rent when his wife had a baby and work was rather slack. At the same time he ran an account at the grocery store, promising in both cases to even up his accounts as soon as he went back on full-time employment. Within a reasonable time, as had been anticipated, his employment improved; but instead of paying his back bills, he up and left the State, claiming he could get better wages elsewhere. It took two years, and the help of a national collection agency, to make him pay the debt. Naturally the cost of the collection took most of the returns, but the young man was taught a valuable lesson—which, incidentally, the landlord paid for.

Often families with otherwise good records have defaulted shortly before leaving, and by hook or crook have managed to get away without paying up. I've often wondered why they do this, since the principle involved is far more important than the money, and the damage to their credit is greater than they apparently realize. They generally need good character references later on, but are willing to forfeit those in order to get away with a few dimes, mostly to show their contempt for the landlord. After many experiences of this kind, I have grown suspicious of people who are moving out, and sometimes give them a surprise opportunity to meet me in the small-claims court.

Another type of headache for the property-owner is illustrated by the young war worker who came in several years ago when the small-arms plant began in our city. With his family and all he possessed loaded in a second-hand car, he assured me he would be a good tenant because he was a mechanic, and naturally could do anything around the place to help keep it up. He could paint, fix the plumbing, keep the electric fixtures in order. I accepted him, but not because of these qualifications. In a very short time he was operating a repair garage on the premises, bringing and testing cars up and down the driveway, making noises and leaving litter around until the neighbors complained and I had to put a stop to it. The next thing I knew, he was undertaking an elaborate rewiring project in the garage in order to equip himself with a suitable workshop. Again I had to complain. His final stroke of genius occurred when he stripped all the wiring and electric fixtures from an outbuilding, and some from his apartment itself, and used them in a house trailer he was making. My last meeting with him was in the small-claims court, where he promised to make restitution. Before he had completed this, I discovered that he was in another State, and decided to let him go. But from this and many similar cases, I've grown rather wary of the handy-man type. They're too often handy at doing the wrong thing.

I try to avoid nervous, highly excitable people as tenants also. From the landlord's point of view, they're nearly always more trouble than they're worth. One such person, after requiring her apartment completely overhauled to suit her special taste, left in a few weeks because the neighbor's canary sang too loud. Another

woman became obsessed with the notion that someone was trying to kill her, and kept the management and the other tenants in a dither for weeks searching for prowlers she insisted were infesting the place.

One of the most mooted questions connected with tenancy concerns the admission of children. Landlords are usually criticized in the press and by public officials for their refusal to admit youngsters. I have before me a clipping which gives one property-owner's experience with children.

He says in effect: "When I called at the end of the first month for the rent, I noticed gashes the size of my hand every sixteen or eighteen inches apart in the new screen. I asked the mother how it happened.

"She gave a joyous laugh and exultingly ejaculated: 'The boys took the hatchet and cut the screen. Kids will be kids.'"

In another unit I had papa, mamma, little Jackie and other joys of the home. Jackie was a bright prospect for a carpenter, so at two and a half years of age he was given a hammer and permitted to pound the tile bathroom floor to bits.

Can you wonder the landlord gets bitter sometimes on the subject of children? Personally, I have never followed the policy of refusing children; but after some very unhappy experiences, I decided to select very carefully. The trouble, after all, is really not the children. It's the parents. Some seem to be entirely lacking in the ability to discipline their offspring, especially in matters pertaining to other peoples' rights. Others don't care. Their own sense of civic responsibility is poorly developed.

Recently one of my tenants, the proud father of two lusty boys aged five and seven, presented each of them with a set of carpenter tools. Their joy seems to have been unbounded; for they immediately went to work on the apartment, hammering and sawing at will on the window-sills, doors and floor. Their marks will never be erased.

Frankly, I undertake to educate them. And sometimes I succeed. In the matter of keeping things picked up around the place, I occasionally point out that someone will think a band of Indians live here if the rubbish they've scattered isn't moved. Some of the little girls, backed by their parents, bring pressure on the others and get results. The social teaching of the schools should be made to carry over just as effectively with children living in rented property as with those whose parents own their own homes. If all parents realized this, they would find more doors open to their children.

The growth of our industrial civilization makes it certain that an increasing number of people will live in rented housing units for at least part of their lives. This calls for a better understanding between tenant and landlord. The latter may be an old grouch, but he's quite human. He likes friendly, honest people, willing to meet the problems of life fairly. Because they can take responsibility, and have a wholesome respect for the rights of others, they're good tenants; and, for the same reason, they're good citizens.

Literature & Art

London letter

The publication of Roy Campbell's new book of poems, *Talking Bronco*, has caused a great deal of comment, controversy and bitterness in the literary world recently.

Roy Campbell is one of our best poets, and he is also a Catholic. He became a Catholic during the Spanish Civil War. He had previously lived in Spain and in Provence for a long time and, in a way, the imagery and spirit of his poetry have not changed radically through his acceptance of the faith: his poetry was always impregnated with a sense of Latin tradition and with joy in, and love of, the simple Christian virtues of duty and valor and humility. Perhaps he has become more pugnacious in his post-Catholic work, owing to being "up against" more things.

He is not at all what could be called an "intellectual" poet. He is not interested in thought so much as in vision: he is a seer. He heightens everything his eyes light on and he creates pictures with powerful flaming imagery and a gorgeous exotic vocabulary. He spurns free verse and chooses for himself excellent meters and rhyme-patterns which seem hardly to be chosen, so inevitably do they fall into place. He would ridicule the idea that rhyme is hampering to poetic inspiration. No word defeats him; in fact, every word seems to encourage him. The poem, "One Transport Lost," has this verse:

For us, this world of Joad and Julian
The dithering of abortive schemes;
For them, the infinite, cerulean
Suspension of desires and dreams.

What he sees mainly in this volume of poems is war, death, blood, the common soldier, interspersed suddenly with less violent things—St. John of the Cross, his beloved preparing for bed, laundry dancing on a windy clothes line, the Carmelites of Toledo; but in this last poem there is violence too—for the Carmelites are to be killed—and a piercing beauty:

The Carmelites, all terror quelled,
The first of the toreros came
In "clothes of light" whose ghostly flame
Was only of the soul beheld,
To flaunt their crimson one by one:
And Death, in turn, by each was felled
Till valour seemed to fix the sun.

Much of his imagery is drawn from Spain—a country so full of light and darkness and strong colors—and much, too, from South Africa. For Roy Campbell is South African by birth, and in his poetry he makes full use of the diverse tongues that have surrounded him and the strange onomatopoeic language of the "wogs." As I said, the subject of most of these poems is the war, in which the poet fought, treated in a tough, visual, realist way:

Where, packed as tight as space can fit them
The soldiers retch, and snore, and stink,
It was no bunch of flowers that hit them
And woke them up, that night, to drink . . .

and then there are those flashes of rare (but not rare with Mr. Campbell) beauty, to lift the violence and hideousness onto the plane to which the soldier-poet wants to lift them:

Yes, you may laugh! but in an hour,
Gay as the bee to seek the flower,
Across the sands a bullet sings:
Your comrade falls: and from the spot
Flushed like a sandgrouse by the shot,
An angel whirrs on startled wings.
Go now: tread lightly: mind the wire:
This life's as beautiful as fire
But always fighting at the bit.
Each moment is too deep to ponder
And swifter than the star that, yonder,
Slid from your sight, as soon as lit.

But now I must explain why *Talking Bronco* has caused such a to-do in literary circles. It is because one of Mr. Campbell's *bêtes noires* is what he calls the Left-wing poet who, having in violent and anti-fascist polemic helped to whip this country into war and driven the working man to soldiery and death, himself retired to a "safe job" in the Ministry of Information or the B.B.C.

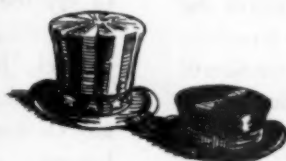
Mr. Campbell detests, in other words, the ideolog who fights on paper but never shoulders a rifle. He prefers the simple man who fights because his country demands that he shall—out of simple loyalty and duty—who does not blather beforehand nor funk it afterwards. He calls the Left-wing poet he hates so much MacSpaunday (a composite name based on Macneice, Spender, Auden and Day Lewis) and, while deriding him, he glorifies himself as being a non-ideolog who volunteers immediately for front-line service:

Though by his age, race, domicile, description,
Exempted from all service or conscription—
While joint MacSpaunday shuns the very strife
He barked for loudest, when mere words were
rife . . .

And the volume is scattered with such verses as these:

For when the War-Cloud forks their sky
They'll seek Utopias oversea,
To jobs in ministries they'll fly,
and funk-holes in the B.B.C.
Where, snugly pocketing the kitty,
They'll sell their pale commercial pity,
In posh editions, for us mere
Shock-workers of the Camp and City
Whose sweat, and life-blood, is their beer.

The Left-wing poets, some of whom fought in the war and were killed, are naturally indignant at this attitude (though it has elements of truth in it) and there has been vituperative correspondence in several papers. It is



possible that some of the letters may be published in book form.

While glorifying the soldier, Mr. Campbell has his doubts about the outcome of wars. This final quotation is illustrative of this uncertainty (the "three crusades" referred to are the 1914-18 war, the Spanish war, and the last war):

For I have lived, of three crusades,
The heroism and the pathos,
Seen how the daft illusion fades,
And learned of victory the bathos.
But when the lava has been poured
Through huge ravines of change and loss,
Of all most hated or adored,
One thing remains intact, the Cross!

I have devoted the whole "London Letter" to Roy Campbell, for he is one of our most outstanding poets. He has been acclaimed, too, since the publication of *Talking Bronco*, as one of the greatest Catholic poets in recent years, greater than Francis Thompson. This, at least, was one reviewer's opinion.

BARBARA WALL

Dublin letter

The passing of the Irish storyteller. The booksellers' shops are inviting places these days in Dublin, for the autumn publications have arrived and are being eagerly sought. The Irish people are reading as they never did before. We were never a reading public, especially through the countryside, and Dublin might be considered as the center of advanced scholarship. This can be explained easily, but today our libraries are of unusual importance, and the librarians find it difficult to keep a supply of books to meet the demand. And the reading habits of the people are interesting. In the towns, light novels are sought; outside the villages and towns more serious works have wide appeal. Biography, history, books on economic and agricultural subjects are the chief interest. War histories and military experiences seem to have little place in general, though such books have been, and still are, popular in England.

This growth of reading is interesting in the lives of the new generation. It marks the passing of the charm of the Irish storyteller, once a feature of the Irish home. For centuries, Irish culture was preserved through the Shanachie or storyteller, and today Ireland possesses more folk tales than any other nation, including Sweden.

So important does the Irish Government consider the amount of traditional lore, and especially the heroic and folk tales of the country, that specialized collectors and recorders have been going through Ireland compiling this mass of material and, in the case of very old storytellers still with us, these tales have been recorded by machine with all the dramatic and colorful expression of the speaker.

This is a distinctively Irish art, which W. B. Yeats, the poet, Dr. Douglas Hyde, the Gaelic leader, and many dramatists of the Irish Theatre tried to capture in their enthusiasm at the Irish Revival. This beauty and power of the old storyteller in telling a tale was as fascinating and satisfying as any fine theatrical performance. It is a

reason, too, why Irish people, even the country folk who are now crowding the cities, are very critical of plays, and why so many dramatic works failed in Ireland that filled the big London theatres. They miss the sincerity, the genuine wit and the imaginative appeal which ran through the old stories, heard from childhood, where the Shanachie in a few broad strokes and picturesque language gave the characters a weight which all the trappings of invention missed.

Of course, the Irish storytellers are not all gone. In the Gaeltacht (Irish-speaking districts) there are yet nights to be spent in listening to them and enjoying their native art. The lovely surroundings in the wonderland of Donegal or Kerry or mystical Connemara have influenced these tales, and give them an important place in our literature, just as they inspired the poets of the Renaissance.

One such scene left an impression on me never to be forgotten. I wished some great writer could have caught it in a literature—especially a Catholic, who only could have understood.

It was the Sunday morning. From an early hour the mountain people began their descent from the hills to the little chapel. The small, poor church had no tower or even a bell to call the people. It was not necessary in Achill. Everyone arrived long before the priest appeared to say the Mass. The gathering was one to inspire any artist. Along the white road came a cavalcade of horses—black, brown, but mostly white. On each horse sat two or three girls, all riding side-saddle. Their bright gay clothes were all donned for the day of the week they honored, and they sat dignified and graceful, as they moved slowly along the coast road with the grey cliffs as a background. The old men in their Irish homespuns and the women with their flowing, hooded cloaks took to the road as they joined the cavalcade from the distant parishes.

I remember the fervor of that congregation and the religious spirit of old and young. I felt I was back in the penal days in Ireland, so solemn, as if it were their last Mass, was the attitude of the people. I was kneeling near a group of old, hooded women (it was, I think, a clay floor). Their beads were in their hands and as the moment of the Elevation approached they dropped them to the ground. Then the priest raised the Host and the old women raised their arms and cried with great emotion "Cead Mile Failte!" Then silence fell.

But this life has changed today in Achill. Many of the children of these old people from County Mayo are now in the greater Ireland, America, as they call their adopted home. They have risen, as some I know, to positions of power and influence. They have gone far on the world's road to success. The stories now told by the fire-side are the glowing tales in the letters home. And they make good stories, too. If the great epics of the Shanachie are dying out and the book-shelves instead are being replenished in most cottages today, and the newspaper is no longer read in the evening in the blacksmith's forge, we must bow our heads to the scientific age and become reconciled.

KATHLEEN O'BRENNAN.

Books

Delight for all us children

MISTRESS MASHAM'S REPOSE

By T. H. White. Putnam. 255p. \$2.75

When a ten-year-old girl, her adventuresome little imagination aflame with dreams of pirates, cutlasses, grog and the plank, manages to escape her two adult captors for the space of a dreamy afternoon, takes to the high seas (the weedy pond in her large garden) in a galleon (a decrepit punt) and beaches on a dangerous, exotic island strand (the pond's tiny islet with its summer house), it is not to be wondered if marvelous excitements are set in train.

What little Maria encountered was nothing more or less than a colony of Lilliputians. When Lemuel Gulliver, it seems, had quitted the Empire of Lilliput in Captain Biddel's boat, he had roused in that seafaring worthy a deal of cupidity through displaying the miniature cattle he was taking back to England. The Captain cunningly treasured the bearings of the Empire, returned, captured many of the minuscule inhabitants, with the intent of making his fortune exhibiting them at peep-shows and fairs throughout England. Luckily, they escaped when the Captain was in his cups, and set up a Lilliput-in-Exile.

Their new empire is under the stairs, within the pillars, in the cupola of the summer house on the tiny island. They farm by night, with mice as plow-horses, they even have a tiny whaling ship, in which they brave the monstrous waves of the pond to harpoon the three-foot perch and carp. Wolves and owls are mastodons and rocs to them, and their life is perilous, but orderly and picturesque.

Now Maria, who discovers them, is really a great heiress. The great estate and the big house, where she lives in a tumble-down wing, is really very rich, but a horrible governess, in cahoots with a still more revolting vicar, is trying to find the document that will prove Maria's inheritance, destroy it, and make both of them rich. When they learn of the Lilliputs living on the estate, they get still more money-mad and plot to capture the Little People, to be sold at a thousand pounds each to the British Museum—or, dream of dreams, to Hollywood.

Living on the grounds is a delightful, absent-minded professor; together with

the cook, they league with Maria to save the Lilliputians and, sure enough, they manage to discover the precious document. The vicar and governess are clapped into gaol, the beautiful estate is renovated, the professor is supplied with all the musty tomes he craves, the Little People live on in peace in their tiny colony, free and independent.

There is everything in this delightful book save brow-furrowing pontificating on social and political matters. There are adventure, humor, pathos; there are truly wonderful speeches couched in quaint eighteenth-century language; there are rollicking take-offs on the stuffiness of genealogy, on the horsiness of the horsy set; there is a *Midsummer Night's* daintiness in the descriptions of nature and a magical convincingness in the outlining of the giant world as seen by the six-inch minims.

And there is, too, as there must be in all good fairy tales and phantasies, a simple moral running its gold thread through the tapestry of the entrancing events—mere size does not give one the right to dominate another; power is not authority; might is not right.

I truly pity anybody who will say



"oh, it's all a lot of escape stuff and only a child's fairy tale." I have not read in many a year a book that so charmingly lives up to the hackneyed phrase "for the young of all ages." There are ancients of all ages as well, of course, and they will not "waste time" over it; I imagine, though, that they would not "waste time" over children, either—nor over the delights, mysteries and wonders that are part of the children's (and our) Kingdom.

HAROLD C. GARDINER

We regret a congeries of errors in last week's Book Log. There the book next reviewed was called Under a Red Sun; its price was given as \$2.50, the publisher was spelled MacMullen, and it was put as the October choice of the Catholic Book Club. It is the club's November choice; the other corrections are at the head of the next column.

Epic of the Christian East

UNDER THE RED SUN

By Forbes Monaghan, S.J. McMullen. 279p. \$2.75

"In all history no people has done and suffered for another what the Filipino people has done and suffered for us." These words, referring to their immeasurable sacrifices during the late War, are from a book which, appropriately, made its appearance on Mission Sunday, and which is bound to focus many interested eyes on the Philippines—"the farthest outpost of Christian civilization."

The forces which have molded the character of the Filipino people, making (you might say) their recent heroisms inevitable, were a deep love of the faith and of the democratic ideal. Father Monaghan had constant opportunities of observing these forces in action during the War, for he had a "grandstand seat at the making of history" at the Ateneo, the famous Jesuit college in Manila. Indeed, he had been teaching there for some years before Pearl Harbor and had got to know the people well, to understand and admire them. He writes of their sufferings with sympathetic insight while his keen eye penetrates the causes of the Pacific upheaval.

Father Monaghan's purpose in preparing this book was twofold. He wanted to make his country aware of what the Filipino people had done for it, and he wanted to pay tribute to the Filipino boys he knew who, for loyalty to America, chose the path leading to torture and death.

What lads they were, these former pupils of his, of the Ateneo! You could call them the flower of Catholic youth and you would be right—these gallant young men who fought at Bataan, and who, in the dark days that followed, became leaders of the underground and backbone of the resistance on Luzon. There was the brilliant Raul Manglapus, for instance, who ran a patriotic news sheet. There was Ramon Nolan who, through binoculars, sighted the Japanese Singapore fleet slipping stealthily northward to catch the newly-landed American forces at Saipan, and who radioed the information to Australia. This information enabled Admiral Nimitz to meet that fleet in the first battle of the Philippine sea and administer an historic defeat. There was Horacio Consing who established

a source of information within the very stronghold of the enemy. And there was Teddy Fernando who paid with his life for his valuable scouting operations concerning Japanese fortifications.

But not all the Filipino heroes were men. There were girls, too, young women like Raymunda Guidote, whose transmitter was the clearing house for all messages of the Luzon area to and from Corregidor. She was captured, tortured and imprisoned but, on being released, plunged once more into patriotic work and became an officer for the Allied Intelligence Bureau. And there was "Billy," a leper heroine, whose strange, inspiring story, were it fiction, would be thought much over-colored.

There were countless "common people," too, who brought economic ruin upon themselves, who gave their farms that they might help us, whose homes were destroyed, their dear ones imprisoned and killed. Not one of these people has received any compensation. They did not expect any. Yet what a gracious act were it to be made, what ordinary fair play.

The American people must keep in mind [writes Father Monaghan] that the liberation of the Philippines was no favor; it was a duty owed three times over. The American people had made themselves responsible for the defense of the Philippines, not permitting the Filipinos to defend themselves. Only in 1936 was the Commonwealth allowed to raise an army. Five years was an altogether insufficient period to produce from nothingness an adequate defense. The Philippines were regarded as American soil, their defense an American obligation. But America failed in that defense, and was bound in strict justice to redeem the Islands. In the second place, the Islands were dragged into the war by America. They had been made a base against Japan—a stick held over its head and a barrier to its imperialistic march southward. In the third place, redemption was due to the Filipinos because of their loyalty. They had kept faith with America; America was bound to keep faith with them. They need not have suffered as they did; the hell they went through was undergone gladly for the sake of their pledged word to the American people.

We read, too, in these pages of the almost legendary figure of the Ateneo's great Superior, Father John Hurley—"Father Mercy" he was called—who, with weapons of prayer, Roman canon law and nimble wits kept the enemy baffled and at bay some three years. In fact, his community was not interned

until shortly before MacArthur's return. It was under Father Hurley's leadership also that the Ateneo Jesuits entered on the perilous work of rallying patriots and resisting the Japanese usurper. It was he who supported 250 Jesuits and hundreds of other needy persons, not out of his purse, for that was empty, but out of "the hole in his purse." And it was he who could say at the close of the war: "Though we have lost all, our situation was never brighter." Though the war had stripped the Jesuits of all their material re-

sources, it had given them what they prized infinitely more—the love of the Filipino people.

Some readers may wish to compare *Under the Red Sun* with Father Edward Haggerty's *Guerrilla Padre in Mindanao*. No comparison is necessary. Each book records separate chapters of the same splendid saga.

Father Monaghan is now back at the Ateneo, teaching among the ruins, working to shape the educational future of the Islands, and helping in their rehabilitation. PAULA KURTH

How Could Germany Have Rearmed?

ASSIZE OF ARMS

By Brig. Gen. J. H. Morgan. Oxford. 357p. \$3.50

This utterly misleading title should be changed to *You Can't Trust Germans*. The title used recalls the assize of arms of 1181, an English law which required the maintenance by every man of such weapons as would be suitable for his rank. General Morgan has written this book in an effort to prove that the Germans must not at any time be trusted with any weapons. Given the weapons, Morgan believes that the Germans will be logical enough to use them.

The author knew Germany well even before the first World War. He served in the intelligence section of the British army during World War I and, after the war, was made the British Member of the Inter-Allied Council on the Commission which was supposed to effect the disarmament of Germany. He lived in Berlin most of the time between 1919 and his resignation in 1923. The volume is not another "hate" book; it is calmly written, and all the major arguments presented are bolstered with factual material, almost always drawn from German sources. True, he does record many conversations, and whether or not the statements ascribed to prominent Germans were actually made, this reviewer does not know.

What, precisely, are some of the charges he makes? They are, briefly, the following: He maintains that the German Officers' Corps, an organization representative of officers on the active and also on the inactive list, was kept actively functioning after World War I, and he maintains that this organization was superior to and not inferior to the Weimar Republic; he

proves rather easily that all ranks of the German civil service, even the judiciary, were filled with former soldiers, and that these soldiers instinctively took their orders, indirectly or directly, from the German Officers' Corps; he quotes General von Seeckt, when Germany completely repudiated disarmament in 1933, as saying that it was the Officers' Corps which had neutralized the poison of disarmament, and which had made possible Germany's military revival.

He quotes chapter and verse in a rather successful effort to show that the Officers' Corps made use of the Weimar Republic in wringing concessions from the Allies. The Republic at times asked for modifications in the disarmament clauses, and maintained that only if these concessions were made could the Republic survive. The Officers' Corps kept alive the threat that Germany might go "red" unless greater freedom were given from Allied control.

The author is especially bitter when dealing with the farcical effort to try the German war leaders of 1914-1918 who had been charged with crimes "against humanity." He was on a commission which furnished the Allies with a list of 3,000 leaders charged with such crimes. The Weimar Republic, under the urging of the Officers' Corps, was finally able to secure from the Allies the right to try the men so charged. Only a dozen were given so-called trials in Leipzig in 1921. Only one man was given a prison term, and that for two years. In respect to these trials, at least, history did not repeat itself after World War II.

Among other documented charges, which are nevertheless controversial, are the following: the Germans are incapable of self-government because of their dependence upon the army; the brutality of the German soldiers is inevitable because of the brutal training

to which they are subjected; the university professors abetted every German violation of international law, 1914-1918, because the German universities are completely controlled by the state; and "as for the moral maladies of Germany, the lust, the cruelty, the bestiality, the homicidal fury which disfigured society in the years we served in Germany," these traits were especially strong among those who later headed the Nazi movement.

If you ask if there is any hope, the author says plainly: "We must either abolish the German nation or abolish the German army." Moreover, it is the author's opinion that German unity is an artificial bond, achieved and maintained only by army discipline. If the army is destroyed, root and branch, this artificial "nation" would, he believes, disintegrate, and Germany would then break up into smaller segments. Although this book is certainly many years late in making its appearance, it is definitely one of the superior books dealing with the German problem.

PAUL KINIERY

THE DARK WOOD

By Christine Weston. Scribner's. 303p. \$2.75

Out of the suffering, maladjustment and disillusion in the wake of war, Mrs. Weston has woven a tale which fails to be as gripping or as profound as she has sought to make it. *The Dark Wood*, a Literary Guild selection, is the story of Stella Harmon, whose husband was killed with an armored division in Italy, a story abnormal, unhappy and lacking throughout in convincing reality. Mark Bycroft, with whom she falls in love because of his resemblance to her dead husband, is also unnerved and tormented by the aftermath of war. For besides the searing effect of his part in brutal conflict, war has cost him the love of his wife, the lovely, calculating, cruel Regan, and has made him a stranger to his little son Neddy.

The novel moves slowly, filled with unpleasant, stiffly-drawn characters somewhat reminiscent of the creations of D. H. Lawrence. Symbolism, not always skilful or effective, further attenuates their vitality. Their names—Regan, Stella, Mark; the color of their clothes—Stella in white or indefinite blue; the surroundings—light, color, weather—all are external signs of inward mood and feeling. The characters' preoccupation with the meaning of life

would lend them some stature, were it not that their conclusion is inevitably that life has no meaning, or but little. Love and happy marriage (with benefit of divorce), children, the simple joys of country living and good friendship are the nearest answers they find.

The language of the thoughts of these strange people predominates in importance over their actual speech. Their unconscious impulses, terrific inner conflicts and fears—these are of greater significance than their conscious life. Artistically, this atmosphere is in harmony with the psychopathic condition of Stella and Mark, and heightens the nightmarish horror of their unhappiness. Philosophically, it is trivial, wrong in its emphasis, leading only to disintegration and confusion. The apparent profundity of the various guests of Stella, Mark, Regan, Regan's ailing sister Hester, and William Symes, Regan's lover, upon analysis proves often only obscurantism or empty verbiage. These people are mystical, yet sensual; groping for meaning, yet meaningless.

That the book's title is from Dante is no accident, for the essential feeling is Pre-Raphaelite, yet it is more hopeless, in some ways more decadent, than *fin de siècle* Pre-Raphaelitism. It is a work only for mature readers, who will recognize this pseudo-mysticism for what it is and reject it, while perhaps enjoying the novel, as we enjoy the paintings of Rossetti and Burne-Jones, for the highly ornate and decorative effect. JOSEPHINE NICHOLLS HUGHES

ECONOMICS IN ONE LESSON

By Henry Hazlitt. Harpers. 222p. \$2

When we were children, all of us received our learning by thimblefuls. The books placed in our hands were primers and our teachers were afraid to overdose our childlike minds. Henry Hazlitt plays the part of a first-grade teacher and his new book is a primer for those uninitiated into the intricacies of economic life. The lesson which the author seeks to impart is simple: the art of economics consists in looking not merely at the immediate but at the longer effects of any act or policy: it consists in tracing the consequences of that policy not merely for one group but for all groups.

When that lesson is well learned by the student, the teacher then feels himself in the position of being able to exemplify what that means for the practical realities of the American economy. Large-scale public works in the long run mean unemployment because they detract from private investment. Government loans penalize the efficient producers because they subsidize the marginal operators. Full employment in the present is futile unless full production is guaranteed in the future. Tariffs only protect the incompetent. And so the author goes on, instructing us to be patient and wait for the long run, warning us that immediate gains are merely "fools' gold."

Certainly Hazlitt has written one of the most simple and readable economic treatises that has come to public at-

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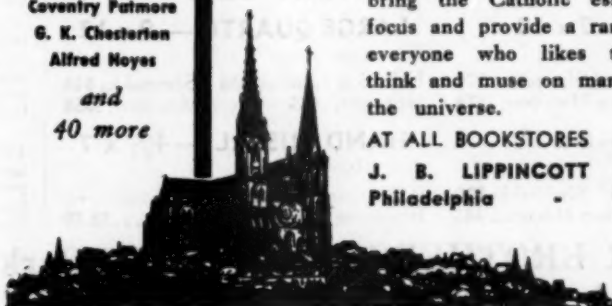
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tention for a long time. His wide newspaper experience has enabled him to write a book on economics which anyone can enjoy. The trouble is that the book is too simple. Economics is not like geometry, a mere formula which can be worked out to its Q.E.D. conclusions. Economics involves human beings who may not be expected to wait five generations for a system to work. Hazlitt is a laissez-faireist of purest form. He clings to the illusion that there is such a thing as a free market and that if it is let alone all will be well. How often has that been heard?

But the fault is not Hazlitt's alone. He frankly states that his source is Bastiat, the French classical "economist" of the nineteenth century. Bastiat was a confirmed optimist. For him everything was always getting better. Wages were always destined to rise, the capital-labor conflict certain to vanish. Consequently, to the Frenchman, the only function of the state was to enforce justice, i.e. the status quo. Bastiat could not free his mind of the doubts raised by the Socialists. He undertook to answer one extreme by advocating the other. But, being a pamphleteer, he was no more an economist than Westbrook Pegler is an expert on the labor problem. On account

of Bastiat's shallowness and manifest disregard of the facts of social life, e.g. monopoly, his writing has had little influence on the leaders of economic thought. How much popular influence his protégé Hazlitt will have, this reviewer does not know, but his book suffers from all the defects of the old Frenchman.

GEORGE A. KELLY

BERNARD M. BARUCH

By Harry L. Shumway. Foreword by James F. Byrnes, Secretary of State. L. C. Page. 116p. \$1.25

This small book about a great man is worth reading and owning. The story of Bernard M. Baruch is one of a true Horatio Alger. It's a model for boys and an inspiration for men. Baruch has lived right, worked hard and been a success.

Another thing is that Baruch has been one of the most brilliant men of his time. His successes on the stock market were more than luck, as even his most jealous competitors admitted. The youth who started his working career endowed with a college education and a salary of \$3 a week as an errand boy studied the market before he bought. That's why he made out.

He says that he has had reverses that would drive an ordinary man to shoot himself.

The stock market was only the start for Baruch. In March, 1918, his friend President Wilson made him chairman of the War Industries Board. That started him on a career of government service which he never quit. Baruch got rid of his stocks when he joined the Government. He hired the floor of an office building for his staff. Later he bought the whole building so he would have space. Such doings were typical. Once he paid the expenses of a mission to Europe from his own pocket. That cost \$85,000.

His service as head of the WIB was spectacular. Later, muckrakers and Jew-haters pried, but could find nothing unsavory in his actions. Baruch told Wilson not to be harsh on Germany at the peace table. He was disappointed with the peace. In the years after, he urged military preparedness and trading-in of war debts for rubber and tin. Without official capacity most of the time, he was so respected that he had entry to the White House, and found ears to hear his words.

In this war, Baruch handled the rubber shortage at the start, told Congress to "stop bunking the American public

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by saying wage increases can be granted without price increases," and made a study of what nations are doing for their veterans, which he gave to the Senate. His present job is perhaps the most important he has had: American delegate to the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission. If he can fix up the atom bomb, he'll have done yeoman service for the world.

Baruch was born 76 years ago in Camden, S. C., of Prussian-American parents. His father was a doctor, still learning English. Baruch was raised in New York and attended the City's public college. He was rejected from West Point because of an ear injury received in a baseball game.

The fault with this factual book is that it's only facts, and does not even attempt to bring in the character development in Baruch's life. There is no mention of women in Baruch's life, and he presumably never married. There is no mention of religion. Baruch sums up his life thus: "I've had a good life and a full one. I have no regrets."

JOSEPH HUTTLINGER

NOT SO WILD A DREAM

By Eric Sevareid. Knopf. 516p. \$3.50

This is the autobiography of a young man who in a short span of thirty-two years wandered far and wide, saw cities sacked and had many an adventure on land, air and sea. The long book is not only an odyssey reaching many continents; it is a war book containing the deeds and misdeeds of our American soldiers.

Eric Sevareid was born in Velva, North Dakota. Before he was twenty he had crossed the continent in a canoe, paddling 2,200 miles across lakes and along rivers to Hudson's Bay. He attended the University of Minnesota, a "mass-production" institution, where he came under the influence of a disciple of Harold Laski. After college followed newspaper work, adventures among gold-miners and hoboes, and then an assignment on the old *Paris Herald*. Came the war—and opportunity. Soon his name was well known throughout the nation through his broadcasting of war news for C.B.S.

His most thrilling experience was his jump from an airplane while climbing over the hump in Asia. Landing safely, he and his companions spent anxious days among primitive head-hunters until rescue came. Very many characters, some famous, but more of them ob-

scure, march through his pages and pause while he draws neat pen pictures of them. It was routine for him to interview generals and statesmen. In France, he discovered Gertrude Stein; in Italy, the aged Benedetto Croce; in New York, Walter Winchell.

His favorite subject is politics. He calls himself a liberal, but occasionally he talks like a fellow-traveler. Sometimes he is as cynical as a Communist; at others he tortures his soul with moral questions like a character in a Russian novel. English imperialism he cordially hates, and he dislikes the superior way of their aristocrats; yet he feels at home in England. He is forever trying to think "in terms of history," and this for him seems to mean in terms of the economic theory of history. It is his opinion that "the basic economic problems of India could be largely solved by a ruthless collectivization of the land."

Skilled in the techniques of modern journalism, his thoughts move forward in a blaze of certainty. To him, as journalist, everything is either white or black. On his black list are Chiang-Kai-shek and his lady of the Soong family. On his white list are the Chinese Communists.

He is also against Franco, and of the Vatican he writes: "I was, and am, devoid of any feelings of religious awe toward the Vatican, and I have always felt that as a political force it has inclined toward fascism." Again, he speaks of the Pope as offering thanks to "his Deity," of his "showmanship," of his "political genius." "For by inference," he continues, "he took credit for the fact that the city had been spared"—and more of this baiting of the Scarlet Woman. He ends with a faith-shaking revelation worthy of Maria Monk: "I thought of two Catholics who in southern Italy had confessed to me that they were shaken by the sight of shabby, unshaven priests begging cigarettes on the curb and even offering to take the men to prostitutes."

Readers of *AMERICA* will not grow angry at the young journalist. Rather, they will wonder whether there is any causal connection between this outburst and the teaching of the disciple of Harold Laski at the University of Minnesota. It is pleasant to be able to state that at the end of the book the author seems to retract his communistic notions as he restates his faith in democratic America, its people and government and its "little Velvas."

GEORGE T. EBERLE

HEAVEN HELP US

In 1940 we published a nightmare of a novel, *MOSCOW 1979* by Christiane and Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn (\$3.00). The authors see the Pope of forty years hence as a Filipino, ruling from San Francisco, and the Church as the last unconquered enemy of Communism. No one believed a word of it then, but as Graham Greene lately said:

"It must be four years since I first read Mr. Leddihn's MOSCOW 1979 but the book remains vividly in my mind, due to the extraordinary strength of Mr. Leddihn's imagination. What seemed then a book of wild fantasy, however, now seems threateningly possible."

A new edition, with an extra chapter, is now ready. Don't give it to anyone to whom you would not give one of Graham Greene's own novels.

If Kuehnelt-Leddihn's prophecies do not come true, part of the credit will go to Catherine de Hueck. Her Friendship House movement has demonstrated all over again that if you take our Lord at His word, and leave everything to follow Him, you do indeed receive a hundredfold. *FRIENDSHIP HOUSE* (\$2.75) written partly by its founder, partly by members of her staff, is the inside story of the fight it is making against race prejudice, cruel poverty and the temptation to Communism that comes with them. The book gives us lazier Christians some idea of what is involved in keeping open house for all the world, of always being ready to provide food, clothes and books to anyone at all who may ask for them.

If Friendship House does not already list St. Martin of Tours among its friends, they will when they have read Gheon's biography of him, *ST. MARTIN OF TOURS* (\$2.50). He is the only bishop we ever heard of to literally give away the shirt off his back.

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The Word

WHEN SAMUEL, THE PROPHET, was declining into senility, he appointed his sons judges over Israel. But the restive people demanded a king, and God finally acceded to their repeated request, designating Saul, "a choice and goodly man," so tall that he towered above other men. Samuel introduced the new king to the assembled people with the ringing words: "Surely you see him whom the Lord has chosen, that there is none like him among all the people. And the people cried and said: 'God save the king.'"

Through the Feast of Christ the King, a Roman Pontiff points out to us Him who is the "King of Kings" (Apoc. 19:16), "the Blessed and only Sovereign" (1 Tim. 6:14), to whom all individuals, families and states must, as Pius XI teaches, be subject. No longer do we cry "God save the King" but "God is the King"—Christ the Lord who must rule in our minds because He is the Truth (John 14:6), in our wills by His example, grace and inspiration (John 15:5), in our hearts through His love, "which surpasses knowledge" (Eph. 3:19).

Now the Church, as Pius XI declares, does not institute new feasts pointlessly. They emerge from the contemporary scene as reaffirmations of those particular dogmas which are the solutions of current problems. The cancer in the modern mind was secularism, and this motivated Pius XI to establish the Feast of Christ the King.

Secularism was a gradual growth. It arose in some nations which first repudiated Christ's sovereignty and consequently denied the right of His Church to teach, legislate and govern men. It placed religion under the civil authority; it divorced politics from morality and, in its extreme form, called for a merely natural religion with an entire rejection of God.

Against this pernicious mentality Pius XI raised, like a standard, the fact of Christ's Kingship. To Him, as Man, the title "King" belongs because He received from His Father "power and glory and a kingdom" (Dan. 7:13). "Of His kingdom," the angel of annunciation assured Mary, "there shall be no end" (Luke 1:32). Before Pilate He affirmed His royalty (Mark 15:2) and again after His resurrection (Matt. 28:18).

His natural right to kingship derives from the union in His Person of divine and human natures; but He has also an acquired right, for He bought us "at a great price" (1 Cor. 6:20). And though His kingdom is spiritual, as the gospel amply shows, it is likewise terrestrial because His Father gave Him absolute rule over all creatures, including the civil authority. As a result, in the words of Leo XIII: "His empire includes not only Catholic nations, not only baptized persons . . . but also those who are outside the Christian faith . . . truly the whole of mankind is subject to the power of Jesus Christ."

This was the dogmatic reply to the arrogant error of secularism and, as Pius XI announced, it is only through the recognition of Christ's kingship that the authority of governments can be solidly stabilized, true liberty prevail in society, peace among nations.

The same Pontiff hoped that by the yearly observance of this feast men would the sooner return to Christ Our Lord; and he calls on each of us to do his part in bringing about that happy event. You do not have to be prominent to help turn the world back to Christ. This year Christ stands before us again repeating the age-old invitation: "... give me thy heart" (Prov. 23:26). We must make certain that our own hearts are firmly, fully dedicated to Him and then, by our example, bring others to know and love Him.

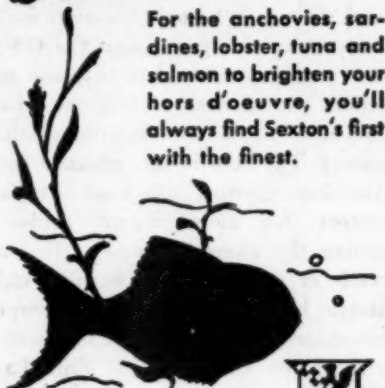
WILLIAM A. DONAGHY, S.J.

Theatre

HEAR THAT TRUMPET. While plot is not of premier importance in drama, weakness in that department can impair the integrity of an otherwise rewarding play. In *Hear That Trumpet*, presented in The Playhouse by Arthur Hopkins, Orin Jannings gets his characters tangled in one of the impossible snarls in which we mortals too often become enmeshed, and resorts to murder and attempted suicide as an easy solution. But that defect in the plot is not apparent until midway in the third act, when it is too late to cause fatal damage to the most original play of the season, as of the date of its opening. Other and more serious flaws appear earlier in the evening.

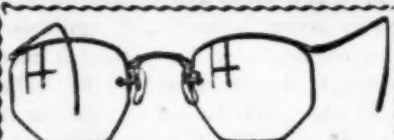
The author's most conspicuous fault is his failure to achieve a sharply outlined protagonist, a two-dollar word but not too highfalutin' for this serious

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venture. The leading female character is the natural protagonist, but she cannot be recognized as such until too late in the story. Before her identification in the third act, any of several characters (or narrow it down to either of two) might be mistaken for the voice of virtue.

While Mr. Jannings is an inept plot-builder, and less than expert in delineating character, he is a shrewd observer of life. He is aware of social tensions, and he knows the score. His story reflects a segment of American life with the accuracy of a camera.

The scene of the story is Chicago, but could be duplicated in any mammoth city—say, Philadelphia, Detroit or Cleveland. A veteran, with battle memories and the intransigent soul of an artist, is the leader of a "hot" band which includes a Negro among its personnel.

The members of the group have no dreams of grandeur, no hankering to become a "name" band, but are content to play their hearts out for the love of music so long as they can earn a modest living playing in honkytonks. A cocotte, falling in love with the leader, persuades her sugar daddy to promote the band into the big money playing in swank night spots and making records. All goes well until the lady makes the mistake of marrying the band leader; then her former paramour, a reputable gentleman with gangster connections, proceeds to tear the band apart, but is eventually frustrated by an overdose of sleeping tablets.

It would be difficult to imagine a more hackneyed plot, but the characters are so wholesome, so earnest in their efforts to remain clean and loyal to their ideals, that their struggle for survival assumes a significance that invests the trite story with the vividness of life—at least for two acts. Woodman Thomson designed the set and Mr. Hopkins directed.

CYRANO DE BERGERAC. José Ferrer, starring himself in Rostand's classic, achieves a lavish production and comes close to interpretative perfection in the title role. Frances Reid's Roxanne is tender and humorous, but might be a bit more sensitive; and Ernest Graves, as Christian, is properly good-looking. Sets are by Lemuel Ayers, and direction by Melchor G. Ferrer. The theatre is The Alvin. The rest is Rostand, Brian Hooker's translation, and it's excellent.

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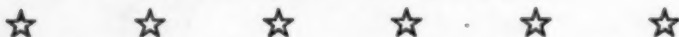
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Films

CLOAK AND DAGGER. The story be-
hind the war is brought closer to melo-
drama with this yarn about the O.S.S.
It is a theatrical blend of suspense and
action, with a dash of romance which
has more to do with histrionics than
history. The hero in this instance is an
American scientist who leaves his lab-
oratory for more violent fieldwork
among the atomic schemers. He suc-
ceeds in smuggling the enemy's chief
atomic hope out of Italy and occupies
his spare time in falling in love with a
girl of the Underground. Fritz Lang
follows the standard pattern of the
muscular spy story, underscoring the
dangers of the chase with narrow es-
capes and blood-letting, and investing
every action with global significance.
An obvious play for pathos is made
through the character of the Italian
girl who is left behind to fight out the
guerilla war. The fact that her counter-
espionage work among the Germans
has involved moral jeopardy is be-
labored to no good purpose. Gary
Cooper, Lilli Palmer and Robert Alda
are featured in a well-contrived thriller
for mature audiences. (Warner)

THE JOLSON STORY. Hollywood ap-
parently believes that the facts of life
are important in general and annoying
in particular, so this superior musical
production is only a partial biography
of Al Jolson and a complete resumé of
show business. The technicolored story
runs through the professional career of
the cantor's son who won fame in more
secular song as a star in vaudeville,
minstrel shows, Broadway hits and
sound movies. Along the way romance
rears its head, followed immediately by
the stale conflict between domesticity
and a career. Alfred Green's direction
compliments audience intelligence by
smooth transitions from action to vocal
entertainment. The familiar music,
sung by Jolson to gestures by Larry
Parks, is the better part of the picture.
Evelyn Keyes, Scotty Beckett, William
Demarest, Ludwig Donath and Bill
Goodwin are effective in rounded char-
acterizations. General audiences will
find it an excellent compound of song
and sentiment. (Columbia)

NO LEAVE, NO LOVE. Since Van
Johnson's bobby-sock following has ac-
quired a reputation for everything but

taste, this comedy may be well received in that quarter, but as entertainment for the general public it is something of a bore. The slight plot is complicated beyond its strength, as a Marine hero, hastening home to his fiancée, is delayed by an ambitious pal and a radio-singer's attentions. The latter has undertaken to keep the hero busy until his mother can personally break the news of the fiancée's marriage to another. Of course, by the time that news is conveyed, it has become unimportant. A flashback opening, stuffed with stock jests about the nervous father-to-be, is an index to the picture's labored humor. Charles Martin's direction is loose enough to accommodate some hysterical by-play. Pat Kirkwood, as the singer, is creditable, but Keenan Wynn and Edward Arnold are just present. There is merely incidental fun in this family film. (MGM)

BLUE SKIES. Bing Crosby and Fred Astaire are entertaining enough in their own specialties during the unveiling of this Irving Berlin song-fest, but the pretentious technicolored production offers nothing in the way of a plausible plot. After the required number of reels, a wife discovers that her husband's penchant for opening and closing successful nightclubs is insupportable. Divorce and reconciliation follow. The break is so obviously trumped up for pathos that it is absurd. Divorce is merely an obligatory scene in the screen life of entertainers nowadays. Add to that nonsense an objectionable dance, and what might have been a good vaudeville show becomes an excursion into stupidity and bad taste. (Paramount)

THOMAS J. FITZMORRIS

Parade

If the recording of telephone conversations had been possible during past centuries, modern families could now be listening to famous voices out of the long ago. . . . In the mind's eye we can see a family about to play a record of a centuries-old conversation between Alexander Pope and Edward Young.

Voice of Pope: This is Alexander Pope. *Voice of Young:* Are you there? This is Ed Young, Alex. I called to tell you Henry won the post as schoolmaster. He will be a teacher.

Pope: Splendid. 'Tis education forms the common mind: just as the twig is bent the tree's inclined.

Young: Of course, there is little chance of fame and fortune in the post.

Pope: Pooh, pooh. Henry rises above these. He leaves meaner things to low ambition and the pride of kings. After all, honor and shame from no condition rise; act well the part, there all the honor lies.

Young: Very true. Who does the best his circumstance allows does well, acts nobly; angels could do no more.

Pope: Henry is young. It may be well to remind him that a little learning is a dangerous thing. Tell him to drink deep, or taste not the Pierian spring. *Young:* That I will, Alex. I have pointed out to him the greatness of high ideals. Too low they build, I told him, who build beneath the stars.

Pope: Good. And he'll need high ideals. False, pernicious doctrines are seeping into the field of education, Ed. Fools, posing as educators, are rushing in where angels fear to tread. They yearn to be the first to lay the old aside, the first by whom the new is tried.

Young: Vice, I hear, is being represented as virtue.

Pope: Too true. And what danger here, Ed! Vice is a monster of so frightful mien, as to be hated needs but to be seen; yet seen too oft, familiar with her face, we first endure, then pity, then embrace.

Young: This schooling is time elaborately thrown away. This is the spreading of mental and moral disease.

Pope: To each learned fool who teaches this universal frame sprang from chance, I say—all nature is but art, unknown to thee; all chance, direction, which thou canst not see; all discord, harmony not understood, all partial evil, universal good.

Young: It all makes one tremble to think—how unjust to Nature and himself is thoughtless, thankless, inconsistent man. Man makes a death which Nature never made.

Pope: Quite so. True, the world's a maze, but not without a plan. He Who sees with equal eye a hero perish or a sparrow fall, atoms or systems into ruin hurled, and now a bubble burst and now a world—He has a plan, an over-all plan. 'Tis but a part we see, and not the whole. True education, Ed, vindicates the ways of God to man.

Young: Well said, Alex. I hope to see you within a week or two.

Pope: I certainly hope so, too, Ed.

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Correspondence

Third-party talk

EDITOR: "Third party" talk among independent voters seems to depend on the thesis: "The Solid South, Whether This Strip Is Necessary." The presidency has (unfortunately) come to symbolize politics for most independents, and so long as third-party talkers concentrate on the presidency apart from the other elements of the National Government the third party seems like a good idea. It is assumed that a new or third party would be the present Democratic Party without the southern Democrats, inasmuch as the latter, with a few exceptions, have notably deviated from their own party leadership and policies in the past few years.

Could such a new party elect a President without the electoral vote of the Southern States? The answer must be, emphatically, yes. The eleven most regularly Democratic Southern States have only 127 electoral votes, and not since before World War I has the electoral vote of the South mattered one way or another in deciding a presidential election. Thus it is theoretically possible for the combined Northern and Western Democrats to elect a President.

However, when one studies the composition of Congress, one is immediately forced to reconsider the value of Southern solidarity to the Democratic Party. The eleven States of the Southern group have twenty-two senators and 105 representatives. True, they are not as "regular" as they might be, but if they had been detached from the Democratic Party as a separate bloc they would have held the balance of power in the House during five Congresses of the past seven. In the Senate the Southerners are even stronger, since they hold a higher proportion of seats. If they had been a separate independent party, no one of the theoretically three parties would have had a working majority in any session since 1933, except during the Seventy-Fifth Congress, 1937-1939, when the Democrats had fifty-three "non-Southern" Senators.

It seems plain that the presidency can be conferred without reference to the Solid South, but usually neither

house of Congress can be organized without the consent of Southern Democratic representatives and senators. Third-party advocates should know this and should realize that they are urging a system in which the absence of a majority in Congress might become the normal situation. Rather than risk such confusion it might be better for the disaffected Democrats who talk of seceding from a minority of their party to put up with the slings and arrows of outrageous Bilbo and Company, and keep their faith in the long-run efficacy of competent persuasion.

St. Paul, Minn.

MARSHALL SMELSER

What Iowa farmers think

EDITOR: Since AMERICA is a magazine of opinion, I thought you might be interested in what Iowa farmers are thinking. As a Triple-A committeeman and as a worker for Farm Bureau co-operatives, I have visited a great many farmers in the last month and have found them to be surprisingly bitter in their attitude towards the new price set-up, which they seem to consider entirely unfair to farmers.

While most of my neighbors admitted that prices were too high during July, they feel that they were not out of line with prices that farmers have to pay. Many of them said that two-dollar corn and twenty-dollar hogs were not any higher than two-thousand-dollar tractors. They were probably not right about it; but the fact that farm tractors are getting dangerously close to two thousand dollars is blamed entirely to the higher wages given to labor.

The buyers' strikes which seemed to be the work of organized labor made a very bad impression. Farmers pointed out that wage raises have increased farmers' costs, yet labor prevented farmers from getting higher prices to offset the increased costs.

My own opinions are not quite as bitter as my neighbors, but I find it increasingly hard to say nice things about organized labor. I had my heart set on a new Case corn-picker, and it now appears that the corn will be picked before the Case strike is over. I have been pleased to see the increased

interest that Catholic writers are taking in agriculture; however, it appears to me, especially in considering the problems of the family farmer, the approach to the subject by many of them seems to be more scholarly than practical.

I have often wondered why a writer who can be so practical about labor's problems—even going so far as to interpret the Labor Encyclicals of the Popes in terms of dollars-worth of living wage or guaranteed yearly income—seems to expect farmers to exist on the joys of rural living. I have always believed that unless our agricultural economy is such that farming on a small scale can be profitable, all the editorials written and resolutions adopted by organizations, or the legislation passed to prevent large-scale farm operations, will not save the family farmer. Unless we make sure the family farmers are in a financially sound position we may be starting rural slums instead of developing a good form of family life by advocating the increase of small farms.

Because I believe the family farmer must be in a strong financial position if he is to compete, I feel that the Farm Bureau, which is supposedly dominated by the large commercial farmers, is doing more for the small farmer than any other interested group by its system of cooperative services. Many millions are paid out annually by the State Farm Bureaus in patronage refunds for a great array of goods and services. Because most Farm Bureau members are small farmers, the majority of this money goes to help the small farmers.

Maxwell, Iowa GERALD JENNETT

Peace on the Adige

EDITOR: I want to thank you for your magnificent article, "Peace on the Adige" (AMERICA, Sept. 28).

Brixen was Bressanone in my time, but the people were the same, only my "section" was farther up, in the Ahrntal, up from Bruneck, even up from Sand, beyond the railroad even, where Luttach clusters about its sharp-spined church and peaceful graveyard.

One needs only to go to that country to love it with a tenderness not even given to one's own land. And the good people, who so patiently suffer!

So I am glad that "my" Albergo Sasso Nero can again be Gasthof Schwarzenstein, and Luttach needn't try to do the impossible and be Lutago.

Louisville, Ky.

(REV.) CHAS. C. BOLDRICK

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